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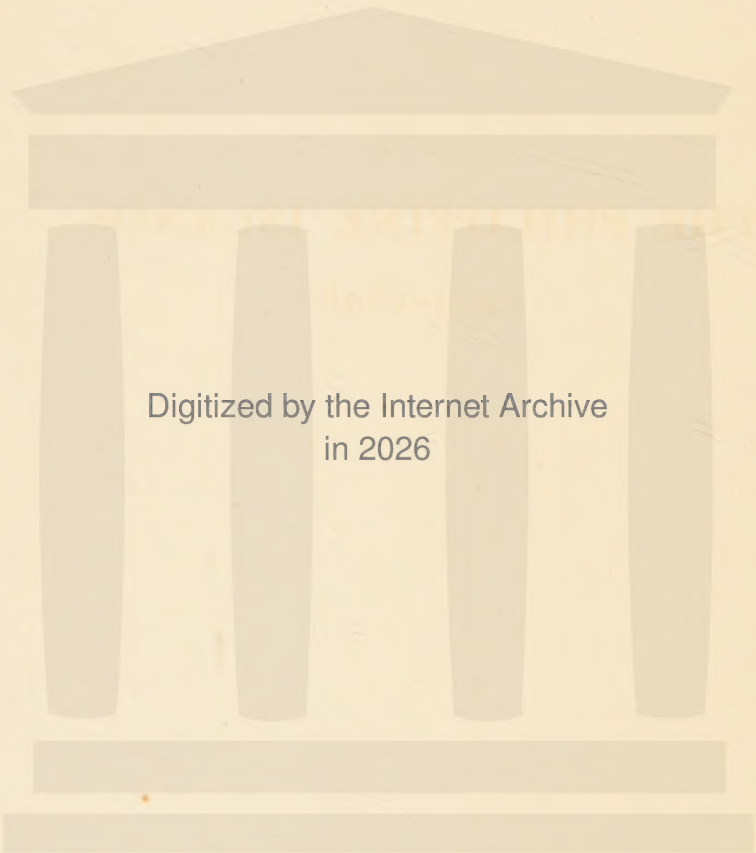

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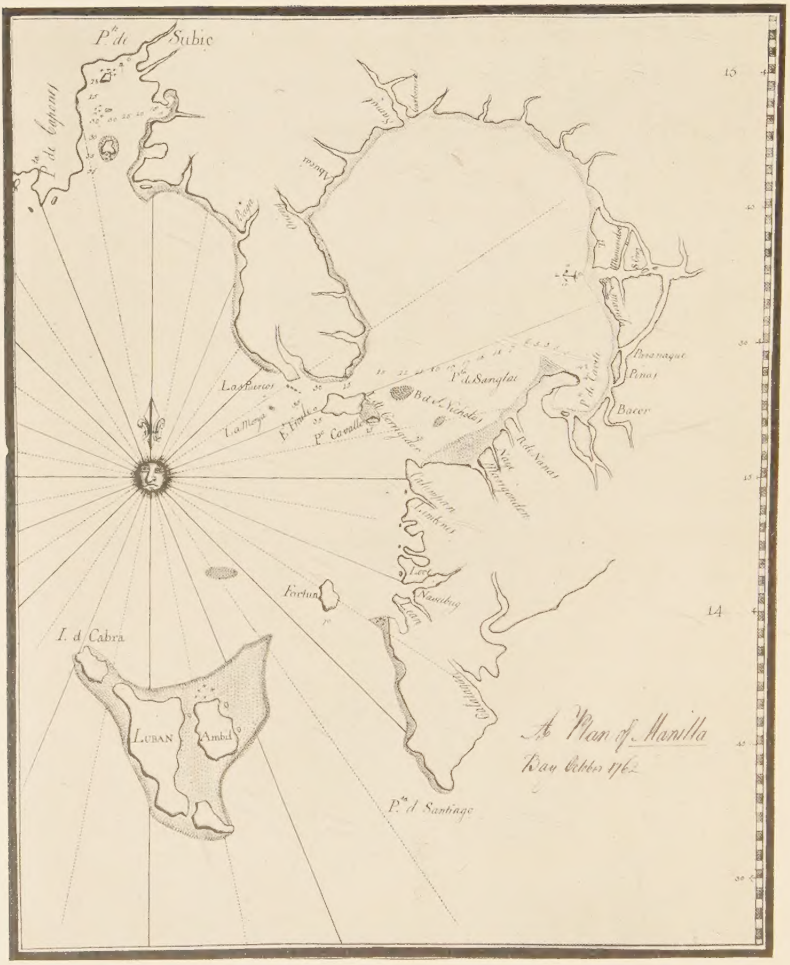

Plan of Manila Bay, October, 1762

[*From copy in British Museum*]

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XLIX—1762-1765

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PREFACE

The theme of the present volume is throughout the conquest of Manila by the British in 1762, and events consequent to it. The various accounts we have drawn from both Spanish and English sources, in order that we might present the matter from the standpoints of each nation, and we have aimed to give the story in great detail from as many points of view as possible. The subject must have special interest for Americans by reason of the operations of 1898. In some measure the captures by both the British and the Americans are analogous, because in each case it was rather a side demonstration than the main object of the war, and because of the ease with which it was accomplished. Here, however, the analogy ends, for British occupation was at the best precarious while it lasted, and made scarcely any headway outside of Manila; and while naturally the questions of religion, commerce, and civil affairs generally were discussed, nothing lasting was done. It may well be that the ease with which Manila was taken by the British gave the Filipinos some idea, though slight, of separation from Spain, or a desire for a larger degree of independence; although, in truth, all such ideas appeared to be effectively stifled with the strengthening power of the religious orders. Of special interest will

be found the operations of Anda y Salazar, a true patriot, though like the Count de Frontenac, of Canada, of a hasty and impetuous nature; and his contest with the incapable archbishop. It is to be noted throughout that all English dates are one day in advance of the Spanish dates, as the English had the same dates as the Portuguese, who reached the Orient by way of the Eastern route. This is a momentous period in many parts of the world.

The first document in this volume consists of a plan outlined by an unknown writer, but one who has been among the Philippines (and who is, perhaps, General Draper), for the conquest of the southern islands, evidently received at London November 23, 1762 – a good prelude to the conquest of Manila. Weighing the arguments as to the expediency of such a conquest, the author decides in favor of it, as the silver which is taken from the Philippines to India in the Manila-India trade, and which comes direct from America, will pass to India direct from the latter country if the islands are conquered. The present plan, however, does not contemplate the reduction of Manila. The islands could be held either permanently or only until the conclusion of peace, the advisability of taking them to rest upon either one of the following reasons: that they are important enough to meet the expenses of the expedition; or that the enemy can be harassed thence. The chief end for which Spain holds the Philippines is religious, and if the missions are considered, Manila might be ceded, though if that does not happen, the holding of them will be an important item in the peace conclusions. Operations carried on among the southern islands would have especial point, for the

Spaniards would fear an alliance between the restless Moros and the enemy. The Spaniards care only about the Acapulco galleon and do not trouble themselves about the rest of the islands, which are governed badly. The natives, in danger from Moro raids, are ripe for revolt. Proceeding directly to a consideration of the southern islands, the writer names and describes the most important of them, making use to some extent, in his description, of Colin and San Antonio. The population that the British would receive by such a conquest would be an advantage. The expedition should proceed first against the fort of Zamboanga, which can be easily taken, and then abandoned and demolished or left in charge of the present Spanish garrison if they will take the oath of allegiance. Next the forts of the islands of Misamis and Cebú should be taken, both of which are important. They can count upon the help of the Moros, and of the Boholans, the latter of whom are now in revolt. All this can be done with one European ship with about fifty soldiers, and several smaller ships, the best time for the expedition being the northeast monsoon.

This is followed by two letters by Admiral Cornish to one Mr. Clevland, evidently some secretary in the office of the Admiralty. In the first letter, dated October 6, 1762, Admiral Cornish reports the success in the operations against Manila, which has fallen on the sixth of October, and gives a short account of the expedition. After hastening preparations for the expedition as rapidly as possible, he sends Commodore Tiddeman with five vessels from Madras to Malacca on the twenty-ninth of July. He himself following with all but two of the remaining vessels on August

1, reaches Malacca on the nineteenth, but Tiddeman fails to appear until the twenty-first because of calms. Leaving Malacca on the twenty-seventh, the fleet makes the coast of Luzón, September 19, but owing to rough weather is unable to enter the bay of Manila until the twenty-third. Cornish and Draper, abandoning the previous plan to attack Cavite first, resolve to proceed directly against Manila, as that once taken, Cavite must also fall. Accordingly troops are landed on the twenty-fifth through a heavy surf, and occupy Moratta (Malate) one and one-half miles from the walls. That same day also Cornish despatches three vessels to capture a sail that is seen coming up the bay, which when captured is found to be a vessel with the mail and news of the Acapulco galleon "Filipino," which has itself remained behind at Cagayan. On the twenty-sixth Draper's forces take up a position two hundred feet from the glacis of the Manila wall, and Cornish lands 700 seamen to aid them. Under cover of the fire from the ships Draper works on his batteries. The entrenching tools, of which there is great need, are supplied by the timely arrival of the storeship, although the latter is driven ashore by the heavy sea. Draper opens with his batteries on October 4, and to so good a purpose that the combined forces are enabled to make the assault on the morning of the sixth, in which they carry everything before them. Draper and Cornish immediately go ashore to make arrangements with the governor. The surrender of Manila and Cavite, and the islands and forts dependent on the former, is agreed upon; and in addition the payment of 4,000,000 dollars or pesos as a ransom to the English for the preservation of the city. Cornish's ship captain,

Kempenfelt, takes possession of Cavite on the tenth. In that place are gained abundance of naval stores, and fresh food is secured. The men have borne themselves well through the short fatiguing siege, and land and sea forces have maintained harmonious relations. Cornish encloses a list of the ships with the seamen and marines landed from each one, and of those killed and wounded during the siege. This shows a landing force of 1,017 – 17 killed, and 17 wounded. The letter of November 10 reports the capture of the "Santísima Trinidad" by two vessels detached for that purpose. This large vessel, which had sailed for Acapulco some time before with a rich cargo, but has been obliged to put back, is taken to be the "Filipino" which is expected from Acapulco with the situado, until actually boarded. For the present it is anchored at Corregidor Island, but Cornish purposes to send for it soon.

In a letter from Cornish addressed to the famous Lord Anson, the former mentions the great advantages that accrue to his fleet in the possession of Cavite, for he can obtain all needed supplies and food, and can repair his ships, some of which are unseaworthy. He complains bitterly of the East India Company, whose employes at Madras, with the exception of but one, have endeavored to obstruct the expedition in every way. The two companies of troops furnished by the company are composed of French deserters and released prisoners. Further information can be secured from Captain Kempenfelt, the bearer of his despatches, who is also in charge of some engraved plates containing a map (the famous one by Murillo Velarde) of the islands.

Letters from General Draper to the Earl of Egre-

mont, dated November 1 and 2, respectively, are practically duplicates, the first appearing to be the rough draft of the second. They announce the taking of Manila on October 6, and praise the bravery and forbearance of the men who acted with great humanity, notwithstanding that Draper's own secretary is killed under a flag of truce. In company with Cornish, Draper dictates the conditions under which Manila will be preserved from pillage, which are accepted by the Spanish. The East India Company is to have one-third of the ransom. Manila and Cavite have been delivered to the Company's representative, as per orders. It would be well to hold Manila and the islands, if possible, for they are very wealthy. The season and the need of repairing the ships prevent the taking possession of the other places ceded. Draper praises highly Admiral Cornish, his officers, and the seamen and marines for their efficiency, as well as his own officers and men, especially the 79th regiment. Following these letters are three sets of "proposals" and "conditions," all dated October 6. The first, consisting of 12 "proposals" made by the archbishop-governor and others, touches rights of property, religion, trade, residence, and government; all the proposals are granted by the conquerors, but some of them with certain reservations. The second set, consisting of the four "conditions" under which Manila will be preserved from pillage, is proposed by the British and accepted. The latter outline the status of the Spanish officers and men, who are all to be regarded as prisoners of war. All military stores must be surrendered, as well as Cavite and other places dependent on Manila. In addition a ransom of 4,000,000 dollars or pesos is to be paid, half imme-

diately and the balance at some future date, for which hostages are to be given. The third set, consisting of "proposals," and also submitted by the British, relates to the surrender of Cavite, and the method of payment of the ransom.

The important journal of the British operations, kept by General Draper, and sent with his letter of November 2, follows. The first part of the journal is rather general in nature, while the latter part is more specific and definite; but as a whole it well supplements the preceding letters by Cornish and Draper. The troops, consisting of the 79th regiment, a company of royal artillery, 30 artillerymen furnished by the East India Company, 2 companies of Frenchmen, also furnished by the Company, 600 Sepoys, and other natives, and reënforced by Cornish's seamen and marines, a total of 2,300 men, sail July 29 and August 1 for Malacca, where they are to water, taking precautions on the way to prevent the Spaniards from learning of the expedition. Malacca is left August 27, and the fleet anchors in Manila Bay September 23, completely surprising the Spaniards. A summons to the governor on the twenty-fourth elicits no satisfactory reply, and, accordingly, operations are begun immediately. From that date until October 6, when Manila is taken by easy assault, the siege is one of ceaseless activity on the part of the British, who struggle against heavy seas and rains which aid the Spaniards. The latter, 800 strong, are reënforced by 10,000 Pampangos, "a fierce and barbarous people." To the latter is due the killing, under a flag of truce, of Draper's secretary, Lieutenant Fryar, who is sent to the Spanish lines with a nephew of the archbishop-governor who has been

captured with a vessel despatched from the Acapulco galleon. This has arrived on the Luzón coast in September, with news of the war, and Cornish endeavors to capture it. The British base of land operations is the suburb of Malate, from which successive advances are made, although a few sallies by Spaniards and Pampangos give the British forces considerable trouble. The Pampangos, however, meet with so severe losses, that becoming disheartened, all but 1,800 of them desert. The British landing force, consisting of both troops and seamen and marines, is well supported by the ships. At the assault, one hundred Spaniards and natives who refuse to surrender are all killed. The archbishop-governor and his chief officers retire to the citadel and surrender at discretion. The officers are allowed to give their parole, but all natives are simply dismissed. When Cavite is surrendered, three hundred Spanish troops mutiny and desert with their arms. The total number of Spanish officers and men, taken prisoners, both of the army and navy, amounts to 361. The British loss, as shown by an appended list, is 36 killed, and 111 wounded. Many war supplies are captured in Manila and Cavite, a goodly proportion of which is unserviceable.

This is followed by the journal of the archbishop of the defense and assault of Manila, from the appearance of the British in Manila Bay, September 22, until the capture of Manila October fifth. It differs in some of its details from Draper's journal, especially in the number of the British forces, and the number of the British killed (both undoubtedly exaggerations on the part of the archbishop), and gives details not mentioned by Draper.

This is followed by a valuable series of documents (mainly in synopsis) concerning Simon de Anda y Salazar, the patriotic auditor, and the English invasion. The various letters, etc., consist of communications between Anda and the weak archbishop, Rojo; Anda and the British; the archbishop and the Filipinos; and the British and Diego Silang, the insurgent. By means of them one may follow fairly accurately the course of events after the taking of Manila. Throughout, Anda's tone is one of intense bitterness toward the archbishop, whom he accuses of venality and collusion with the British. The archbishop, on the contrary, accuses Anda, whom the British proscribe, of usurping power not his own, and of lack of patriotism. The abortive Chinese insurrection, instigated by the British, is put down by Anda with terrible vengeance. There are charge and countercharge between Anda and the British (whose proscription Anda has met) of inhumanity, each side striving to clear itself from such an imputation. Anda is slow to accept the assurances of peace, and to grant a truce to hostilities, for he fears some British treachery. He demands that they leave the islands, in accordance with the terms of the treaty (made in February 1763), and by which they should have left the islands in August 1763. Early in 1764, the treaty is sent on a British vessel which also carries orders for the British to go to the Coromandel coast; with which the Spaniards are left in peaceful possession of the islands.

The archbishop-governor writes a long relation of events (probably in 1763) preceding and following the assault by the British, in which his chief aim is to justify his own conduct, as many charges have been

preferred against him. He has been mindful of the peace and harmony of the islands, has healed breaches, has encouraged agriculture, has looked after the defense of the islands, and increased the navy. The repair of the public works has engrossed a part of his attention, but his plans are not to be perfected, for the English spoil that. He has also bettered the condition of the treasury; and in view of the fact that the whole concern of the people is centered about the annual trading galleon, has tried to improve the lethargy, idleness, and vice into which they fall when that matter is attended to. He relates the story of the siege and assault, and the dispositions of the British, and the general events of the period immediately following. Throughout he justifies his own conduct, as in the letters to Anda, recounting his troubles with various Spanish officials, the British, and Anda. He protests that he has acted only for the interests of the Spanish monarch, and indignantly repels the idea that he has been in collusion with the British. This is in many ways an especially interesting document, and supplements the information of the other documents considerably.

In a letter to King Cárlos III, dated June 22, 1764, Anda relates the measures taken by him in his office as Audiencia, governor and captain-general. These measures cover a wide range, extending to things social, economic, moral, and religious. A fixed tariff for provisions, etc., the coinage, the Chinese, who are allied with the British, the military, the seculars, the surveillance and care of the Filipinos, the churches, agriculture, proscription of certain British officers, the curfew, prohibition of gambling games, regulation of the sale of intoxicants,

and strict regulations regarding theft – all these engage his attention.

Another letter from Anda to Cárlos III, dated July 23, 1764, is devoted entirely to the archbishop, who is characterized as wanting in loyalty. Anda, while protesting his own loyalty and devotion to the crown of Spain, declares the many acts of the archbishop (who is now dead) during and after the assault. The latter has written violent letters to Anda, and has acted entirely in the interests of the British. His boon companions have been the traitors Orendain and Fallet, by whom he has been influenced to sign the cession of the islands. Anda has been proscribed at his instigation as a rebel, but that cannot be, as he has never consented to become a vassal of the British, and his loyalty to the Spanish monarch is known. Although the archbishop was urged to give up his foolish pretensions to the governorship, he would never do so. That position rightfully belonged to Anda after the assault, and even the British always spoke of the archbishop as the ex-governor. The latter's want of loyalty is exemplified by his refusal to send the royal seal to Anda, though he could easily have done so.

Baltasar Vela, S.J., of Manila, writes his nephew, Brother Antonio Gonzalez, S.J., of Madrid, July 24, 1764, informing him that the British have at last left Manila, after a rule there of eighteen months. That city fell because of the lack of political sense of the Spaniards and their insufferable pride, for it could have been easily defended, as it is impregnable almost by its location alone. Its loss he charges to the methods of Spanish traitors who won over the archbishop, so that it was arranged that everything

should be left open for the assault by the British on the fifth of October. There was no breach made in the walls, he affirms, but the British soldiers scaled them by means of holes in the soft stone. The attempt to kill Anda was arranged by the traitors with the Chinese and British. The latter were aided throughout by the traitorous Spaniards, the Chinese, and the natives whom they manage to corrupt; but most of their plans outside Manila come to nought. The letter closes with several personal matters, among them a request for reading matter.

A series of representations, forty-six in all, made by Anda and Francisco de la Torre (governor *ad interim*) in June and July of 1764, treat in part of the matters covered in preceding documents. Notices are given of the insurrections in Ilocos and Pangasinan, both of which have been instigated and aided by the British, and both of which are finally put down, the latter with the aid of Bishop Ustariz. Anda praises the religious orders, especially the Augustinians, although he notes that some of the religious of St. John of God have been discontented. Joló affairs and the British alliance with the king of that island are discussed briefly. Orendain, who has been disloyal to the king, has gone with his family to Madras with the English. The fines imposed upon Villacorta and Viana do not appear to have been rightly adjudged. Torre asks that a rule be given regulating the conduct of the single member left to represent the Audiencia, as in the case of Anda, should such a contingency again occur. Anda's conduct deserves only complete and hearty approval.

Two declarations are presented by General Draper (both probably in 1764), in which he protests

against the charges of inhumanity that have been brought against him in regard to the affair at Manila, and urges the payment of the remainder of the ransom which the Spaniards refuse. The Spaniards charge the British with breaking the agreements of the capitulation, but it is they themselves who have broken them all. By various subterfuges they have endeavored and are endeavoring to escape the payment of the ransom. Less than one-half million dollars of the four millions have as yet been paid. The story of the siege and subsequent events is in part gone over, including some little of Anda's operation. The action of the East India Company, to whom the city was turned over shortly after the assault, causes the captors to lose about 200,000 dollars. The second declaration is made necessary because of the new arguments put forward by the Spanish to evade payment of the ransom bills given on the Spanish treasury at the capitulation of Manila. The British have a right to that city until all the ransom has been paid.

A short letter from Eugenio Carrion, S.J., to Joseph de Rueda, S.J., written from San Pedro Macati, July 8, 1765, notes the conclusion of peace and the arrival of a new proprietary governor, Francisco Raon. Francisco de la Torre, governor *ad interim*, has left Manila in a good state of defense and has begun operations against the Moros, which will doubtless be continued by Raon. This will make the trade of the Visayan Islands flourishing once more. In their retirement from the islands the British have lost one-half their boats and men, the latter numbering in all 8,000. News of the Chinese affairs will have been received through the Portuguese fathers. There are still about thirty fathers in that empire, ten or

eleven of whom live openly in Pekin, while the others are in hiding. Carrion prays that the Society may safely weather the storm (the approaching suppression) that has assailed it as a whole.

The last of this series of documents is a letter from Bernardo Pazuengos, S.J., the Philippine provincial, to Joaquin Mesquida, S.J., the procurator-general, written from Santa Cruz. The first part of the letter, dated June 17, 1765, complains of Francisco de la Torre, who has lived as a libertine and has been especially hostile toward the religious orders. The arrival of a new governor is awaited eagerly by all the decent inhabitants. The Jesuits and Dominicans are fully resolved to resign their missions as existing conditions of affairs will not permit them longer to hold them. So poor are the fathers, whose stipends are no longer paid, that they are compelled to make their shoes out of the parchment of their books. Their missions are heavily in debt. The Moros, and even the Christians, have raided the missions. The Visayan Islands are ruined, and one-half their inhabitants have been killed and captured. Jesuit estates have been burned. The Recollects have escaped no better, in all probability. Auditor Galban has declared that the pious funds are the ruin of the islands and of trade. Vigorous measures are being taken against the Jesuits. The fiscal urges action against all the religious orders. The arrival of the "Santa Rosa" with the new governor on July 3 is noted. The letter finally closes on July 20.

THE EDITORS

January, 1907.

DOCUMENTS OF 1759-1765

CONQUEST OF MANILA BY THE ENGLISH, 1762, AND OTHER EVENTS, 1762-1765

Plan of an expedition for the conquest of the southern Philippines. [Sir William Draper?; *ca.*, 1759?]

Letters to Clevland. Admiral Samuel Cornish; October 31, and November 10, 1762.

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Draper's Journal. Sir William Draper; 1762.

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Letter to Mesquida. Bernardo Pazuengos, S.J.; July 20, 1765.

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SOURCES: The first document, the third, and the first part of the fourth, are from MSS. in the British Museum; the second, second part of the fourth, and the fifth, are from *Scots Magazine* for 1763; the sixth, from Le Gentil's *Voyage*, ii, pp. 232-235, 236, 237-239, 241, 242, 243-247, 248-252, 255-259; the seventh and eighth, from original MSS. belonging to the Ayer Collection; the ninth, tenth, and twelfth, from the Ventura del Arco transcripts (Ayer Collection); the eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth, from the original MSS. in the Simancas archives; the thirteenth, from the two publications named therein; the sixteenth, editorial compilation of titles.

TRANSLATIONS AND COMPILATIONS: These are by James A. Robertson.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE

PLAN OF AN EXPEDITION FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

Before we consider this Subject in the View of Probability Let us examine how far it may be expedient: It is well known a very lucrative Commerce is carried on from India to Manila under Sanction of Moorish Colours. It might therefore be alleged that considerable Disadvantages would accrue to the General Commerce of India were the Spaniards deprived of the Philippin Islands from a Presumption that the Silver now received from thence would be lost But when the footing on which the Spaniards at present admit this Commerce is duly attended to, It cannot be doubted a quite contrary Effect would follow.– Silver is the Produce of the Trade carried on from Manila to America and if the Spaniards had not Manila America would open her Arms to the Importers of those Conveniences which India & China only can afford them: This Navigation might be opend if supported in time of Open war by a Port on California.

It is true this Circumstance may be reckoned not entirely relative to the present Plan which does not propose the Conquest of Manila. But it cannot be deemed quite foreign to the Subject as the Possession

of the Southern Islands would be a great restraint on the Spaniards at Manila.

There are two Reasons fully sufficient to warrant Attacks in war. The Conquest of a Place important enough to answer the expences of the Expedition by maintaining it after the war is over or by relinquishing it at the Conclusion of a Peace on a valuable Consideration & distressing an Enemy by harassing him in different Quarters & facilitating any other attempt against him or preventing his acting offensively: The Expedition here proposed may be considered in either Light. Certain it is the Chief Motive of the Spaniards for maintaining these Islands arises from religious Zeal So that admitting the Southern Islands to be subdued It is far from being impossible that in Consideration [of] Permission to the Missions Manila itself might then be ceded & Perhaps Valuable Commercial Priviledges granted also to Us.

But if the Spaniards should not acquiesce in valuable Cessions for Permissions to the Missions they must be extremely piqued & alarmed to have so large a part of their Dominions severd from Manila particularly as they suffer already greatly from the Inroads of the Moors and the relinquishing them would undoubtedly be a Point of Consequence in a Treaty of Peace.

But supposing the Spaniards are so indifferent about them as neither to give any valuable Consideration in lieu or for Permission to the Missions, It is necessary to shew the Islands would answer the Charge of Conquest & be worth maintaining.

However Previous to this we think it most eligible to consider the Subject in a different Light we mean

as it may effect the War: – The Philippin Islands are so far severd from the other Spanish Dominions that any attack of them can have no Influence on other parts So that Manila only can be affected by the Expedition here proposed. If there be any attempt intended against the Capital It undoubtedly would have infinite Good Effect to alarm the out Islands perhaps in drawing some force from Manila but much to the purpose by perplexing them with the apprehension of a Junction with the Moors & Southern Islanders to attack them behind & cut of all resource by Land & starve them by a Blockade at the same time that their apprehensions would be justly raised of a General Revolt of the Indians under their Dominion who tired out with oppressions are weary of the Spanish Yoke & ripe for Revolt. Some as Bohol have rebelld & the Tagalas who lye around Manila have implord the Assistance of Sooloo to protect them in Independance The Spaniards consider nothing but the Galleons Cargo & Erections Leaving the Moors almost without Molestation to ravage & spread Distruction thro the Southern Islands from whence they have carried into Captivity many thousands within these few Years & have in a manner put an End to Commerce from the hazard to which Coasting Vessells are exposd. It is no wonder if the Natives who are still forced to pay Tribute should be ready to join any Power from whom they may expect Protection.

Besides Luzon which is not at present under Consideration There are 9 considerable Islands.

Paragua of which a part only is under the Spanish Jurisdiction; – Mindanao whereof they have – the sole Possession on the W. N. & part of the E. Coasts

Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Zibu, Negros, Pany & Mindoro.

The Islands of mean Size are more numerous; Besides Dumaran whereof part is claimed by Sooloo we may reckon 23 worth naming – Luban, Maricaban, Marinduque, Tablas, Romblon Sibuyan, Masbate, Burias, Ticao, Capul, Catanduan Polo; Maripipi, Panamao, Mactan, Siguyod, Panaon Guimaras, Cuyo, Lalutaya, Sinacapan, Calamian & Buvugan.

It is proposed to give some account of each of these tho it is not to be presumed we can treat of each with much or equal Precision.

The Chief Establishment of the Spaniards on Paragua is at Tyty on the N°. End The Fort named S^{t}. Isabel de la Paragua is built a top of a small rocky hill, the further part not a musquet Shot from the Sea & part of it washed by the waves; It is built of Stone: They have in the same Province several other small Forts on the Islands Cuyo, Lalataya, Linapacan & Calamian or Culion but all these last are only Garrisond by the Natives or Militia & indeed are only intended for Security against the Inroads of the Moors.[1]

The Possession of Tyty seems rather as a Check on the Moors than from the Number of its Tributarys or Produce at least under its present Masters; this part of Paragua abounds in excellent Harbours scarce any exceed that of Tyty but Malampaya on the West Coast: the Island is very populous but the greatest part are under the Jurisdiction of Sooloo if

[1] This paragraph was canceled by its author. A sidenote reference at this point is to San Antonio's *Cronicas de . . . San Gregorio.*

we consider the whole Island the Productions are very valuable & by description few surpass it Gold, Cowrees, Rice, Canes, Rattans, Batata, Kuma False Amber & many other valuable articles are in abundance It is very populous on the East Side but the Natives are almost solely Joloan: Their antipathy to the Spaniards would not probably prevent the English reaping the Benefit of their Industry & Commerce to the Articles abovementiond we may probably add Birds Nest as the Calamianes abound in the whitest & as the Nature of this part of Paragua promises to yield it in abundance.

The two Islands of Calamianes give name to the Province the first Spanish Establishment having been made there: They are 3 considerable Islands Linapacan, Calamian & Busvazon[2] besides a great Number of small ones on every side. They yield Birds Nest; wax which they gather twice a year, the Land is rugged & the seas dangerous; the Natives are bold & industrious & have Rice, Hogs & Poultry in abundance.

Under the same Jurisdiction are the Islands Cuyo which are 5 in number close together & contain about 500 Familys. They are docile & more attached to the Spaniards than the Calamians or Paraguans: they have abundance of rice, Hogs & Poultry. The whole Jurisdiction does not seem to contain above 4 or 5000 People.[3]

The Islands Leyté, Samar & several small ones adjoining are under the Jurisdiction of the former.

[2] Probably the island of Busuañga, the largest of the Calamianes Group; spoken of previously as Buvugan.

[3] A sidenote reference at this point is to Colin's *Labor evangelica*, and San Antonio's *Cronicas*.

Samar which is divided from Leyte by the narrow Strait of S. Juanico lyes on the East of the Philippins. On the Side which looks to the Ocean it is named Ibabao & that part within is called Samar the Port of Borongon on the East Side formerly afforded Shelter to the Galleons from a Dutch Squadron in 1620 & Palapa on the North might have done the same to the Cabadong[4] It is entirely sheltered from all winds & we presume is what Anson's Voyage calls Ialapy Calbalagan is the Chief Town & residence of the Alcalde; The Island is very full of fine Timber [*word illegible*] for Ship build[g] the country is Rough & Mountainous but its Plains are fertile in rice wax & abacca of which last they manufacture Cloth. It in common with the other Philippins abounds in Cattle.

Leyte is more fertile on the East Side where the Plains are so fertile that the Crops yield 200 fold: a ridge of high Mountains divide it nearly in the middle which occasions a very great Diversity of Seasons: So that whilst it is winter on the N. Side (which happens during the N. E. winds) it is Spring on the South & vice versa. In the middle they have double Seasons & both good Crops. It has on all Sides many rivers which fall from these high Mountains & in these rivers and Seas are great abundance of excellent Fish particularly the Harbor of Quibot opposite to the Island of Camote. This Island abounds in fine Timber for Ship Building & Harbours for their Security. Besides Quibot there are several on the west Coast, Palompong, Lagnoag,

[4] The Manila galleon captured by Anson, whose real name was "Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga." See the account of its capture in Kerr's *Hist. and Coll. of Voyages*, xi, pp. 489-501.

Tigas, Leyti, &c. Leyte is the only one on the N°.– Cacaliaton on the E.– & on the S°. Liloan formed by this Island & Panaon which strait is very famous for being the Entrance of Magellan & Legaspi to the Islands; & there are still remains of some small Guard Houses built by Legaspi.

The Plains abound with Game as Deer Hogs & Fowls, besides Domestick ones & the Plenty of Cattle originally brought from China: It yields Rice wax & Abacca Cloth which is their common wear. It also abounds in Coconut Trees, & Fruits of various kinds The People of these two Islands are open & ingenious & the Climate is cooler than Manila.

Leyte has 19 Towns which contain 45,229 Souls, Liloan 330, Poro 1505, & Samar 53,260 in 17 Towns the whole 100,332. It ought to be observed indeed that this Numeration was before the late Incursion of the Moors who for ab^{t}. 10 years passed have annually infested the Islands carrying into Captivity seldom less than 1000 tho chiefly women & Children: So that we shall suppose they do not now exceed 80,000 altho we presume this deduction too great as the Number of the Inhabitants of the other Islands are from so late Information as 1761, & as many of the Captures have been made from the other Islands particularly the small ones of whose Inhabitants we have no Numeration & even many from the Island Luzon which we now consider.

Annexed to the Province of Leyte are several smaller Islands which in general as well as the two larger abound in Cacao: Panamao also yields much Sulphur & Maripipi, which affords by report a most agreeable & remarkable appearance, Plenty of Gold.

Bohol adjoining to Leyte also appertains to the

Province of Zebu it is a rocky & barren Island of Rice but rich in Mines of [*illegible*] a[n]d ores of gold it also yelds Cowries.[5] It contains 9 Towns which are all situated on the Sea ashore they are never infested by the Moors being esteemed a valiant People they have no Forts nor Spaniards on the Island but Jesuit Fathers they have however enclosd most of their Towns for Security against Invasion: It is reported they offerd to protect the Islands against the Moorish Inroads if they were exempted the Tribute But this offer was refused Undoubtedly it would well answer the expence were they not only freed from Tribute but paid a ratio of Rice which they obtain by Commerce with the other Islands, for this Service Some of them are at present revolted & having killed two Fathers retired into the Mountains.

They have many tame & wild Hogs & the Seas are full of Fish: Cotton is in abund^{e}. & their women Manufacture it into fine Cloths. The Natives are whiter & better disposed than their Neighbours but speak the Bissaya Language. It is pretended the Sooloos originally came from Bohol or the Natives of it from Sooloo for it is not well agreed which & not much Probability to support either opinion. It contains at least 40,000 People.

Zebu the Next Island to Bohol was that on which the Spaniards first established themselves: it has an excellent Harbour formed by that of Mactan, a small Island chiefly famous for the Death of Magellan. Zebu was greatly injured by the removal of the Seat of Government to Manila. However it has

[5] Opposite this point is a sidenote reference to Colin, apparently to his *Labor evangelica.*

Manila and the Philippines, 1762, from *Scots Magazine*, 1763 (Edinburgh)

[*From copy in Library of Harvard University*]

still many Inhabitants particularly Sangleys some whereof are worth 20,000 Dollars. there are many Houses & Convents of Stone: The Number of Inhabitants on the Island is about 25, or 30,000. The Productions of this Island are Borona a small Grain like Millet which is the chief food of the Common People as rice is scarce, Tobacco Abacca & Cotton of which two they make Cloth; It also produces the Best Cacao & some Gold & the Mountains yield some wax & Civet.

Seguiyod[6] which is a small Island to the Southward of Zebu is inhabited by a valiant People but is remarkable for little else except the number of Fire-Flies from which it is said the Name Isla de Fuegos was given it.

Negros is divided into two Jurisdictions under the Corregidor of Ylog the Southern Part to Dumagueté & the N. Part under the Corregidor of Sily established about 10 years ago. The Island is double Land; very fruitful in rice which it transports to Zebu & other places adjoining: Yonote or Gumatty: The Coasts are inhabited by Bissayas to the Number of 20,000 & the inland by many Negros who are hitherto unsubdued & Are very savage.

The Next Island to be mentioned is Pany: Not without reason held the most populous & fruitful of the Philippins: It is divided into two Alcaldeas Capis which contains 40,000 People & Ylo Ylo which has 100,000. It is not only the Granary of Samboango &c[a]. but sends considerable Supplies to Manila; There are also about 10,000 independant Savages in the Mountains.

[6] *i.e.*, The island of Siquijor. Ylog is probably for Ilong, and Sily, for Silay.

This Island besides very great Quantities of Rice, [has] very fine wheat; Plenty of Wax, oil, Abacca; Dammer & several kinds of Cloth of which their women manufacture some very fine: The People are strong, corpulent & fit for any kind of Labor They are much inclined to hunting the wild Hogs & Deer which are plenty as well as Tame Cattle The E. Coast has many excellent Harbours but the W. is destitute of Shelter for Shipping the whole Island abounds so much in Rivers that there is nowhere a league of Coast without one & to this [is] owing the extraordinary fertility of the Country.

The Island Mindoro is high double Land with rugged Mountains covered with wood & abounding with various kinds of Palms as Buru, Yonote, or Gumatty of which they make Sago &c[a]. & in all Country Fruits: In some Places Rice is very plenty as well as Cowrees but the People are the most indolent of the Philippins; The Mountains which yields much wax is inhabited by various tribes of independant Savages. There is one Jurisdiction on the Island the Corregidor whereof resides at Baco: – The Island Marinduque is under this Jurisdiction & yields Dammer wax & Rice: it is remarkable for an excellent Harbour capable of admitting the largest Ships & sheltered from all winds. The Inhabitants in this Jurisdiction are about 20,000.

The Spanish Dominion on Magendã[7] comprehends the whole Coasts from Samboangan by the North to Carayas. In General it yields much Gold, particularly Butuan, wax, Cinnamon, Civet, good Cacao, Cotton, Sago, Rice, & Pepper thrives very well, they have many fine woods Brazil Ebony &c[a]. & the

[7] *i.e.*, Magendanao, or Mindanao.

Country also yields Sulphur & Salt Petré It is not indeed without Reason this is held the richest of the Philippins & from its many Lakes & Rivers extremely convenient for inland Commerce. The Natives are very numerous inland & besides those under the Spanish Yoke may be divided into three Denominations – The Subanos or Nation of the Rivers who are Gentiles & very numerous. The Illanon who are under many petty Princes situated around the Lake of Mallanao & the Magindaos: the two last being Mahometans & at war with the Spaniards. The Natives under the Spanish Dominion are few in Number compared with the others & we omit their Number to make up any Deficiency in the other Jurisdiction.[8]

Amongst the smaller Islands which remain unmentioned Masbate is the Chief: it yields wine Civet, some amber & when the Spaniards first settled much Gold. The others are not remarkable for their Productions except Polo which yields much Gold & Ligu [*i.e.*, Ligao?] Alloes Lampon opposite to this Island has been proposed for landing the Treasure from Acapulco in war for which it is extremely convenient being only 36 hours Journey to Manila.

It may appear wonderful that so many Islands so excellent in Situation should yield so little for foreign Commerce except Provisions however that is not to be ascribed to the Barreñess of the Country but solely to the Indolence & Bad Government of the Spaniards – However it is past doubt that were there a more equitable Jurisdiction established, that the Benefit attending the Possession of these Islands would be very considerable to be convinced of this it

[8] See VOL. XLIII, appendix, and notes.

is only requisite to take a review of the Number of People they contain:

Calamian ab^{t}.	5,000
Leyte Province	100,332
Bohol ab^{t}.–	40,000
Zebu ab^{t}.–	25,000
Negros	20,000
Pany	140,000
Mindoro ab^{t}.	20,000
Total	350,332

From which making a deduction of *20,000* for the Captives made by the Moors the Number of Indians in these Islands, exclusive of Luzon, under the Spanish Dominion must exceed 330,000. The Value of such an acquisition we presume is too evident to need Discussion.

We are now to consider the Practicability of the Conquest.

There are several Forts of Stone on the Southern Islands besides Stockades But as all these were originally intended against the Moorish Incursions they are not formidable to a European Power if we may be allowed to form a Judgem^{t} from those esteemed by the Spaniards the strongest viz. Samboangan & Ylo Ylo.– of which two we have had an opportunity to form some Idea from Personal Observation.

Samboangan Fort & Town mount 65 Guns But as the Fort is upon the Shoar & deep water close to it the reduction is a matter of few hours the Garrison when Compleat ab^{t}. 2 or 300 Guushinanzas but at present very few as we have been assured.

Ylo Ylo is of Stone cracked in several Places it

mounts about 50 guns some 18 & 24 pounders & 3 Mortars & had in the End of 1761 a Garrison of 46 Guerchinanyas & 34 Pampanga Soldiers this is the only Fort on Pany & is within Pistol Shot of Shipping but of difficult access & indeed I do not conceive in the S. W. winds that it would be practicable to go thither with large Ships It has no Ditch or Glacis.

Such being the Condition of the two Principal Let us pass [to] a Description of the others but as they occur in the Expedition proposed.

It is proposed that a Europe Ship shall sail for Sooloo in Company with one or more smaller Vessells equipped for war with a Detachment of ab^{t}. 50 Europeans & some Seapoys for Sooloo the Europe Ship to take in the Cargo there for China & to proceed for Samboangan the reduction of which Fort we consider as a Matter of Course. The only Use of Samboangan is to prevent the Incursions of the Moors by the Strait of Basilan But this is a Point of no Consequence as it only makes them pass on the S. Side of Basilan it is therefore proposed to dismantle Samboangan or to leave it with the present Spanish Garrison provided they will take the Oath of allegiance till a General Peace settles the Fate of the Philipinas & in that Case to leave them only a Quantity of Ammunition sufficient for occasional Defence.

It is then proposed to proceed to Missamis where a small Stone Fort built lately to command the Pass of Panguel Lake This Place is a Station of the utmost Consequence as the Possession of it opens a Communication with the Illanon with whom by the mediation of Sooloo the Confederacy must be made.

The Possession of Missamis will be supported by a Garrison of 25 Europeans & a Guard Ship for which Service a Ship built for a Man of War there may be used & it mand with a Detachment of 30 Men from the Europe Ship whose Place may be supplied with transports or Guachinanyas from Samboangan It is proposed to make a Declaration at taking Samboangan that in Case the Islands do not submit they must stand the Consequence of the Moorish Incursions & a Confederacy with the Moors may be made to aid them in infesting the Spanish Districts by supplying them with Ammunition The General Terror of the Moors will influence as well the Indians as the Padres to submit when they find that this only can protect them from in truth the greatest of all Calamitys.

It is proposed the Ships shall proceed from Missamis to Zebu the reduction of which City will be a matter of equal Facility & Importance as the Fort is very inconsiderable close to the Sea without Ditch & the Garrison according to the Spanish writers a Compy of 100 Guichenangas & another of Pampangas & Cagayans tho it appears that it is now even more inconsiderable. Adjoining to Zebu is Bohol now in rebellion & said to be apostatized certainly they have murderd & ejected at least some of the Fathers they are considered as of the same Original as the Sooloos & are held the Bravest of the Philipinas Such Circumstances evince not only the Facility of a Confederacy with them but of the Consequence of this in making a Divission against the Spaniards & protecting the Conquerd Islands to which it may not be improper to observe that some time ago the Boholons offerd if the King of Spain

would remit the Tribute that they would protect at their own Charge all the Bissayas which Proposal was however neglected.

There is a Ship at Sooloo which may have good Consequences we mean redeeming with Captives as may be found useful as Guides in the different districts of the Bissayas.

The reduction of Zebu should terminate the action of the Europe Ship which should then proceed to China with her Cargo & on her return call at Manila to Convey the Sultan if he can not be sent sooner The operation of the other Vessells should be directed towards the reduction of Leyte & Samar which are destitute of Forts & which are solely under the Jurisdiction of the Jesuits.

The N. E. Monsoon is the most convenient time for the attack of Ylo Ylo unless a Detachment could be made from Magendanao The reduction of Pany is an important Object in two Lights as a Granary to the Bissayas in general & therefore a Security for their Submission & as a Place from whence all our Possessions & even Manila itself may have resource. However the Junction of Bohol & the Moors seem to require the Zebu Rout.

[At the beginning of this document is written the date "23 Novr. 1762," probably the date of the receipt of this plan in London.[9]]

[9] It is known that Draper when in Canton suggested the conquest of the Philippines (see note 12, *post*), and was ordered to outline his plan fully. That fact suggests that the present document is the fuller outline, and hence that Draper is its author.

LETTERS FROM CORNISH TO CLEVLAND

Admiralty Office, April 19.

Copy of a letter from Vice-Adm. Cornish,[10] *to Mr. Clevland, dated in the bay of Manila, the thirty-first of October* 1762.

It is with the greatest pleasure I have the honour to acquaint their Lordships with the success of his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of the city of Manila, which was taken by storm on the morning of the 6th instant.[11] In my letters of the 23d and 31st

[10] Facts regarding Samuel Cornish are few. In 1743, when captain of the fifty-gun ship "Guernsey," he destroyed a Spanish privateer of twenty-two guns, which had taken shelter under an eight-gun battery near Cape de Gatt. He also performed numerous other services of the same kind, and took and destroyed a fleet of zebecks laden with provisions. In 1756 he was captain of the "Stirling Castle," a vessel carrying 480 men, most of them the refuse of jails and the scum of the streets. In 1759 he was sent with reënforcements to the East Indies, in the "Lenox," Captain Robert Jocelyn commanding, where he was reënforced in 1760 with five ships. He was at the reduction of Pondicherry in 1760, and at the reduction of Mahe in 1761. Thence he went to Bombay to refit, and went to meet Commodore Keppel for the attack of Bourbon and Mauritius, although these orders were later changed. His promotions are as follows: captain, 1742; rear admiral (white), 1759, (red), 1761; rear admiral (blue), 1762, (red), 1770. He was made a baronet in 1766. His death occurred October 30, 1770. See Allen's *Battles of British navy* (London, 1878), i, pp. 147, 148; Clowes's *Royal Navy* (Boston and London, 1898), iii, pp. 23, 196, 240, 565.

[11] The war with Spain came partly as a consequence of the so-

of July, I acquainted their Lordships with my proceedings to that time; after which I used every possible means at Madrass for dispatch, the decline of the S. W. monsoon making it of the utmost importance. To promote this end, I completed the Elisabeth, Grafton, Lenox, Weymouth, and Argo, with such of the troops and military stores as they were to take on board, and on the 29th sent them away under the command of Commodore Tiddeman, to proceed to Malacca, with a view that they might complete their water there by the time I should arrive with the remainder of the squadron.

Having accomplished the imbarkation of everything designed for the expedition, with a dispatch much beyond my expectation, as we had from the whole time of my being there a violent surf to contend with, I sailed the 1st of August with the ships under mentioned, *viz.* Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford, South-sea castle storeship, Admiral Stevens storeship, Osterly company's ship, leaving the Falmouth, at the request of the president and council, to convoy the Essex India ship, who was not ready to sail, having the treasure to take on board for the China cargoes, and to bring to Manila such of the company's servants as were to be put in possession of that government, if the expedition succeeded.

The 19th, I arrived at Malacca, and was disappointed in not finding Mr. Tiddeman there; who did not join till the 21st, having met with long calms. The difficulty of watering the squadron at this place made it the 27th before I could leave the road.

On the 2d of September, I arrived off Pulo Ti-

called "Family compact" signed between France, Spain, Naples, and Parma, at Versailles, August 25, 1761. England declared war against Spain, January 2, 1762. The diplomatic history of this period is especially tortuous.

mean, and was joined by Capt. Grant in the Seahorse, whom I had detached, upon my first arrival at Madrass, to cruise between this island and the streights of Sincapore, to stop any vessels he might suspect going to Manila.

On the 19th, I made the coast of Luconia; but was drove off again by a strong N. E. wind, which separated some of the squadron. The 22d, the gale broke up, and the wind shifting to the S. W. the 23d we recovered the land again. The next day [we] entered the bay of Manila, and, in the close of the evening, anchored off the fort of Cavite, with the whole squadron, except the South-sea castle and Admiral Stevens, the Falmouth and Essex having joined me off the coast. In the night I sent the masters to sound about the fortifications of Cavite; and, by their report, found that it might be attacked by ships.

The 25th in the morning, the wind not being favourable to attack the Cavite, I took two of the frigates, and with Gen. Draper,[12] and some other offi-

[12] Sir William Draper was the son of a collector of customs of Bristol, where he was born in 1721. He received his education at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Entering the military service, he went to the East Indies, where he entered the services of the East India Company, attaining the rank of colonel in 1760. In 1761 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general for the expedition to Belle Isle. When in Canton, China, whither he went for his health after the defense of Madras in 1759, he took occasion to study conditions in the Philippines, and learned that the Spaniards had no fear of attack since they were so far from Europe. He communicated plans to Lord Anson and Lord Egremont for their conquest at the first rumors of war with Spain, and was ordered to outline his plan fully. The colors taken at the storming of Manila were given by him to King's College, where they were hung in the chapel. When the 79th regiment was reduced he was given command of the 16th regiment of foot, but resigned that post. His health rendered it necessary for him to retire to South Carolina, in 1769, and while in America he made a tour of the colonies. In 1769 he married the daughter of Chief-

cers, reconnoitred the shore about Manila, and observed some churches and other buildings to stand near the works on the south side of the town, particularly toward the S. W. bastion. We had some design of attacking Cavite first, to have had the conveniency of that port for the shipping; but considered, that though the attack should be attended with all the success we could hope, yet it would cause a delay at least of two days before we could land at Manila, which time would afford opportunity to the enemy to demolish these buildings near their works, and to prepare many obstacles to our landing, and perhaps recover from that consternation our unexpected arrival had thrown them in; and farther, Manila being the Capital, if that fell, Cavite would in consequence.

From those considerations, I joined in opinion with the General to take advantage of circumstances so favorable for a descent, and land the troops with all dispatch, and endeavour to get possession of some posts near their works, which, if effected, would greatly facilitate the reduction of the city.

In consequence of these resolutions, I immediately made the signal on board the Seahorse for the squadron to join me, and for the troops to prepare to land.

Justice Lancey of New York, by whom he had one daughter. He had reached the rank of lieutenant-general in 1779 when he was appointed governor-general of Minorca, which office he held until the surrender of that island. His death occurred January 8, 1787, while in retirement at Bath. See *New and general biographical dictionary* (London, 1798), v, pp. 146, 147; Chalmers's *Biographical dictionary* (London, 1813), xii, pp. 316-318; Rose's *New general biographical dictionary* (London, 1848), vii, pp. 138, 139; and Campbell's *Lives of British Admirals* (London, 1817), v, pp. 175, 176.

About seven in the evening, the 79th regiment, with the marines, in the boats, under the direction of the Capt[s] Parker, Kempenfelt, and Brereton, pushed for the shore; and under the fire of the three frigates, effected the landing at a church called the *Moratta* [*i.e.*, Malate], about a mile and a half from the walls.[13] We had no opposition from the enemy, but some difficulty from the surf, which run high, and bilged all the long-boats; but happily lost no men.[14]

The next morning the General took an advanced post about 200 yards from the glacis; and there, under cover of a blind, intended his battery against the face of the south-west bastion. The number of troops being small, I landed a battalion of seamen, consisting of about 700 men, under the command of the Capt[s] Collins, Pitchford, and George Ourry.

The 25th, I dispatched three armed boats after a galley coming up the bay to Manila. They came up with her, resolutely boarded her, and took her, notwithstanding she kept up a smart fire with patteraroes and muskets. She mounted two carriages and seventeen brass swivel guns, and had eighty men. By

[13] The churches taken by the English and used as forts before the assault were afterward demolished by them in order that the Spaniards might not make use of them for like purpose against them (Montero y Vidal's *Historia*, ii, p. 15, note 1).

[14] Had our men taken thought to prevent the disembarking, perhaps they could have driven the enemy back, for they disembarked on a day when the waves were high and when there was a heavy surf, which overturned a lancha carrying a cannon of the caliber of eighteen. All its men fell into the water, and its equipment was rendered almost useless. Their men left the other lanchas with the water up to their breasts carrying their muskets and cartridge-boxes on their heads. Amid this discomfort, two hundred men reached the beach. They immediately formed ranks and allowed the others to disembark more quietly. See Martinez de Zúñiga's *Historia*, pp. 604, 605.

Chart of Philippines showing path of Manila galleon, in *London Magazine* (1763)

[*From copy in Library of Congress*]

letters found in her, we discovered she was dispatched from the galleon St. Philippina [*i.e.*, "Filipino"] from Acapulco, and whom she had left the 10th of September at Cajayagan,[15] between the Embocadero and Cape Spiritu Santa. Upon this discovery I came to a resolution to send the Panther and Argo[16] in quest of her; but it was the 4th of October before the weather permitted their sailing.

The 28th of September the General acquainted me that he was beginning to work on the battery; and that if some ships could get near enough to throw shot on the works of the town opposed to it, it might take off some of the enemy's fire and attention, and thereby facilitate its construction. In consequence of this, I ordered Com. Tiddeman, with the Elisabeth and Falmouth, towards the town, as near as the depth of water would permit, and to place the ships in such a position as would best answer the purpose intended; which was accordingly done the next day, and their fire had a very good effect.

On the 30th, the South-sea castle arrived with stores, which were much wanted, particularly the intrenching tools; for want of which the army had been so greatly distressed, that I was obliged to employ all the forges in making spades, pickaxes, *&c.* for them. The 1st of October it began to blow fresh, and in the night increased to a hard gale,[17] which

[15] *i.e.*, The small island of Cahayagan, at the west entrance to port of Palápog, north of Samar Island.

[16] The "Panther" carried sixty-four guns, and the "Argo" thirty. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 15.

[17] During the gale, the chief boat of the English, which was trying to disembark troops on the beach at Tondo, was obliged to give up the attempt because of the fire that was directed from the fort of Santiago. This ship would have been surely lost, had not the archbishop, confused and lacking good advice, ordered a com-

drove the South-sea castle ashore near the Polverista, a little to the southward of our camp. This accident however had some considerable advantages attending it, as the situation she lay in made her cannon a protection for the rear of our camp: it was likewise the means that all her military stores were got on shore with safety and dispatch, and the army supplied with the provisions she had on board, both which were articles they stood in immediate need of, and which could not have been supplied by boats, as it continued blowing weather for several days after, and the surf breaking very high on the beach. This gale was from W. S. W. directly on the shore, which gave me much concern for the safety of the squadron, particularly for the Elisabeth and Falmouth, who were only in four fathom water, and, as I have since been informed, with the sand of the sea struck; but the bottom being mud, and soft to a considerable depth, they received no damage. On the 4th in the morning, the General opened the battery, which was so well managed, and seconded by the ships before the town, that in four hours the defences were taken off, and the next day in the evening the breach was made practicable.

On the 6th, at day-light in the morning, the General's regiment, with the sea-battalion, mounted the breach, made the attack, and soon got possession of all the bastions, which completed the conquest. I immediately went on shore, and, with the General, had a meeting with the Spanish governor, and some of his principal officers; when a capitulation was agreed on, that the town and port of Cavite, with the

plete cessation of firing from the citadel. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 23.

islands and forts dependent on Manila, should be given up to his Brittanic Majesty, and that they should pay four millions of dollars for the preservation of the town and their effects, (a copy of which capitulation I have inclosed).

On the 10th, I sent Capt. Kempenfelt[18] in the Norfolk, with the Seaford and Seahorse, to take possession of Cavite, agreeable to the capitulation. By this acquisition we are in possession of a very large quantity of naval stores; and beside the advantage of almost every convenience for refitting a squadron, the people are supplied with fresh meat and vegetables in a great plenty.

The siege, though short, was attended with many difficulties, and great fatigue, in which both the officers and men exerted themselves with the utmost chearfulness. We had constantly fresh gales, a lee shore, and consequently a high surf, to contend with, which made it always difficult, frequently hazardous, and sometimes impossible, to land with boats. The rains fell very heavy, and our little army were surrounded and harassed by numerous bodies of Indians, who, though undisciplined, and armed only with lances, bows and arrows, yet by a daring resolution, and contempt for death, they became not only troublesome, but formidable. I have the satisfaction of acquainting their Lordships, that throughout the

[18] This officer, later a subordinate admiral, was in 1782 in command of the "Royal George," a three-decker of 108 guns, generally extolled as the finest ship in the British navy. While preparing for the relief expedition to Gibraltar under Admiral Howe, and while the vessel was heeled over for some trifling repairs, a sudden squall caught it, filling it with water, so that it sank with all on board, scarcely a person being saved. The wreck long obstructed the anchorage at Spithead. See Yonge's *History of British navy*, i, pp. 392, 393.

whole expedition, the most perfect harmony and unanimity has subsisted between his Majesty's land and sea forces.

You will receive with this, an account of the number of officers and men, both seamen and marines, that were landed from the squadron, as likewise of the killed and wounded in each corps. It is with concern I acquaint their Lordships with the loss of Commodore Tiddeman, who in attempting to enter the river in his barge, the morning after the reduction of Manila, was drowned with five of his people, by which unhappy accident his Majesty has lost a brave and experienced officer.

Capt. Kempenfelt, by whom I send this (and [who] will present to you for their Lordships a plan of the town of Manila, and the port of Cavite) has been of the greatest assistance to me during the course of this enterprise. He is very capable of furnishing their Lordships with many particulars necessary for their information; and his great merit makes it my duty to recommend him as a very able officer.[19] *I am, &c.*

S. CORNISH

[The list of which Admiral Cornish speaks is herewith given. This we take from the *London Magazine* (xxxii, p. 222), as only the totals landed, killed, and wounded are given in *Scots Magazine.*]

[19] This letter is published in the following eighteenth-century magazines: *London Gazette* of April 16-19, 1763, from which this letter, as well the other letters published by them, were taken by the other magazines; *London Chronicle*, xiii, no. 986, April 19-21, 1763, pp. 379, 380; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxiii, pp. 177-179; *London Magazine*, xxxii, pp. 219-221; *Dublin Magazine*, 1763, pp. 255-257; *Universal Magazine*, 1763, pp. 206-208; and vol. ii of *The Field of Mars*, 1781.

An Account of the Number of Seamen and Marines landed from his majesty's Squadron under the Command of Rear Admiral Cornish; *as also of the Number killed and wounded during the Attack of* Manila.

Norfolk, Rear Admiral Cornish, Capt. Richard Kempenfelt. 2 commissioned officers, 12 petty ditto, 96 seamen, landed. 2 seamen killed. 1 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 9 non-commissioned ditto, 34 private, landed. 1 private killed.

Elizabeth, Commodore Tiddeman. Capt. Isaac Ourry. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 76 seamen, landed. 1 seaman killed. 5 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 3 non-commissioned ditto, 21 private, landed.

Grafton, Capt. Hyde-Parker. 1 commissioned officer, 3 petty ditto, 100 seamen, landed. 2 seamen wounded. Marines, 2 commissioned officers, 6 non-commissioned ditto, 32 private, landed. 1 private wounded.

Lenox, Capt. Robert Jocelyn. 1 commissioned officer, 5 petty ditto, 119 seamen, landed. 4 seamen killed. 2 ditto wounded. Marines. 3 commissioned officers, 4 non-commissioned ditto, 38 private, landed. 1 private wounded.

Falmouth, Capt. William Brereton. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 50 seamen, landed. 2 seamen killed. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 1 non-commissioned ditto, 11 private, landed.

Weymouth, Capt. Richard Collins. 3 commissioned officers, 7 petty ditto, 80 seamen, landed. 1 seaman killed. 1 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 com-

missioned officers, 6 non-commissioned ditto, 26 private, landed. 2 private killed.

America, Capt. Samuel Pitchford, 2 commissioned officers, 2 petty ditto, 61 seamen, landed. 1 seaman, killed. 1 ditto wounded. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 4 non-commissioned ditto, 22 private, landed. 1 private killed.

Panther, Capt. George Ourry, acting Captain. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 50 seamen, landed. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 5 non-commissioned ditto, 24 private, landed.

Argo, Captain Richard King. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 3 non-commissioned ditto, 22 private, landed.

Seahorse, Captain Charles Cathcart Grant. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 2 non-commissioned ditto, 26 private, landed.

Seaford, Captain John Peighin. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 2 non-commissioned ditto, 18 private, landed. 2 private killed.

Officers killed and wounded, &c. belonging to the Norfolk, Lieut. Peter Porter, and Mr. White, surgeon's second mate, killed.

Lenox, Thomas Spearing, second Lieut. of Marines, wounded.

Total officers, seamen, and marines: landed 1017. killed 17. wounded 17.

N. B. The surgeons, armourers, and other artificers, are not included in the above account.

Norfolk, off Cavite, October 31, 1762.

S. CORNISH

Copy of a letter from Vice-Adm. Cornish, to Mr. Clevland, dated in the bay of Manila, the 10*th of November*, 1762.

In my letter of the 31st of October, I acquainted you of my having sent Capt. Parker, with the Panther and Argo, in quest of the galleon Saint Philipina, from Acapulco bound to Manila.

The 7th instant, Capt. King in the Argo, returned, with a letter from Capt. Parker, acquainting me, that in consequence of my orders, having the 30th of October, got the length of the island Capul, near the entrance into the Embocadero, in pursuit of the Saint Philipina, where the Argo had come to an anchor (and which he intended to do for that night), just as the day closed saw a sail, and stand to the northward; at eight in the evening he got sight of the chace, about two leagues to leeward, but unluckily, by the rapidity of a counter current to what the chace was in, was drove among the Narango's,[20] in the utmost danger of being lost, and obliged to anchor: the frigate having escaped the danger, got up with the chace, and engaged her near two hour; but was so roughly handled, that Capt. King was obliged to bring too to repair his damage. By this time the current slackened, which enabled Capt. Parker to get under sail with the chace in sight. About nine the next morning he came up with her, and after battering her two hours within half-musket shot, she struck. The enemy made but little resistance, trusting to the immense thickness of the sides of their ship, which the Panther's shot was not able to penetrate, except-

[20] *i.e.*, The Naranjos Group lying in the strait of San Bernardino, south of Sorsogon, and consisting of six small islands: San Andres, Medio, Escarpada, Aguada, Dársena, and Rasa.

ing her upper works. Capt. Parker was no less disappointed than surprised, when the General came on board, to find, that instead of the Saint Philipina, he had engaged and taken the Santissimo Trinidad,[21] who departed from Manila the 1st of August for Acapulco, and had got 300 leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, was dismasted and put back to refit. She had 800 men on board, and pierced for sixty guns, but when Capt. King engaged her, had only six mounted, and but thirteen when taken. She draws thirty-three feet of water, and is a much larger ship

[21] Its artillery was in the hold, and it only carried above hatches, five cannons of the caliber of eight, and four of the caliber of four. Notwithstanding this surprise, the unfortunate condition of the vessel, and the formidable force of the English, its commander, who was a Gallego, and the other Spaniards who were aboard it, as if they knew what had happened in Manila, and were of a mind to vindicate the luster of their fatherland, there at stake, fought desperately, and received 1,700 balls of the caliber of 18 and 24. Thirty-five of the English were killed and eighteen Spaniards in addition to the wounded. The ship after being captured was towed to Cavite, where it arrived November 12, 1762. The silks, spices, gold dust, and other effects that it contained, were worth 2,000,000 pesos fuertes. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 16, 17, note 2.

"The Holy Trinity ['Santisima Trinidad'], a rich galleon, taken at the Manilas by Adm. Cornish, arrived in Plymouth Road, June 9, commanded by Lieut. Mainwaring Wilding." (*Scots Magazine*, 1764, xxvi, p. 348.)

"The Santissima Trinidad, the galleon which was taken in her voyage to Acapulco during the siege of Manila, is now advertised for sale at Plymouth. This ship is one of the largest ever seen in Britain. She is upwards of 2000 tuns burthen; the gun-deck measures 167 feet 6 inches; the breadth, 50 feet 6 inches; the depth of the hold from the poop-deck, 30 feet 6 inches; and her draught of water when she arrived at Plymouth was 28 feet." (*Ut supra*, p. 515.)

"On the 14th of August, the great cause of the Manila ship, Santissima Trinidad, was determined by the lords of appeals for prizes, the sentence affirmed, and the Spanish claim wholly rejected." (*Ut supra*, 1765, xxvii, p. 493.)

than the Panther. I cannot ascertain the value of her cargo, but there is to the amount of one million and a half of dollars registered, and she is reputed to be worth three millions.

Capt. King left the Panther with her prize at an anchor about three leagues south of the Corregidow [*i.e.*, Corregidor], at the mouth of this bay; and as I have sent a reinforcement of men with launches and warps, I hope very soon to have them in safety.[22] I am, &*c.*

S. CORNISH

[22] Also published in *London Gazette*, April 16-19, 1763; *London Chronicle*, 1763, pp. 380, 381; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763, p. 179; *London Magazine*, 1763, p. 221; *Dublin Magazine*, 1763, pp. 257, 258; *Universal Magazine*, 1763, pp. 208, 209.

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL CORNISH TO LORD ANSON

Admiral Cornish to Lord Anson[23] *on the operations at Manila*

My Lord

It affords me the most sensible pleasure to congratulate you on the success of His Majesty's Arms in the reduction of Manila with its dependancies.

[23] Lord George Anson was descended from a family long established in Staffordshire, and was born at Shugborough manor, in the parish of Colwich, April 23, 1697. Choosing the sea as his career, he became second lieutenant May 9, 1716. In 1718 he took part in the action near Sicily in which the Spanish fleet was destroyed. The years 1724-27 he spent in a naval position in South Carolina, erecting there the town Anson Bourgh, and giving name to a county. He made two other trips to South Carolina, where he had acquired considerable property. On the outbreak of hostilities with Spain in 1739, he was chosen commander of the fleet to attack the Pacific Spanish-American settlements, and while engaged in this mission made his celebrated circumnavigation of the world, capturing the Philippine galleon on June 20, 1743. He arrived at England, June 15, 1744, after many dangers, in which he displayed great hardihood and courage. Shortly after his return, he was made a rear-admiral of the blue, and soon after that was elected to Parliament. December 27, 1744, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and April 23, 1745 was made a rear-admiral of the white. July 14, 1746 he was appointed vice-admiral, and during that and the succeeding year performed many services for his country. June 13, 1747, he was appointed to the peerage. Most of the rest of his life was passed as a member of the admiralty board, he finally becoming its head, having attained the rank of admiral. He died June 6, 1762, so that the letter written by Cornish never reached him, being written

The possession of the port of Cavita is an acquisition of great Consequence to the Squadron, by which I shall be enabled with a plenty of Stores of all kinds and a Number of Artificers to refit many of the Ships, that in their present condition it would not be safe to proceed with them to Sea; having these advantages together with a good Hospital and plenty of Provisions, I shall be able to give new Health to the People, to proceed from this place with the Squadron, in a better condition than it has been since my Arriving to the command.

I gave Captain Parker an order to Command the Panther, as She was a Clean Ship, and joyn'd the Argo with him to go in quest of the Galleon S^{t}. Phillipina who was at Cayayagan between the Bocadero & Cape Spirito Santo the 10th of Sep^{t}.; and proposed remaining there till the Monsoon was broke up; As Cap^{t}. Parker was with your Lords^{p} and is very well acquainted with those Seas I have the most sanguin hopes of his success.

I am very sorry to mention that the Company's Servants at Madrass took every method in their Power to obstruct the expedition, except M^{r}. Pigot (who proved himself hearty in it & wished it success) their behaviour on this occasion was shamefull; they would admit only of two Companys of their own Troops to goe on the Expedition; and those compos^{d}. of French deserters,[24] and Prisoners they re-

indeed some months after that event. See *New and general biographical dictionary* (London, 1798), i, pp. 389-391; Chalmers's *General biographical dictionary* (London, 1812-1817), ii, pp. 294-311; Rose's *New general biographical dictionary* (London, 1848), ii, pp. 489-500; Barrow's *Life of George Lord Anson* (London, 1839); and the various editions of his *Voyages*.

[24] Le Gentil (*Voyage*, Paris, 1781, ii, pp. 247, 248), says of

leased on this Occasion; of two thousand Seapoys they were to furnish about 500 only was embarked; they even refused a small Vessel which would have been of great use, the Master being a good Pilot in y^e^ Streights of Mallacca and well acquainted with the Bay of Manila, he was threaten'd to be turn'd out of their Service, for Shewing a readyness for going with me; but of these Circumstances and many others regarding their behavior in the outset of the Expedition your Lordship will receive particular Information from Gen^l^. Draper. I wish I could forbear to tell Your Lords^p^ that My Constitution is much hurt by my long Continuance in the West & East Indies during the course of this war, and puts me under the necessity of begging whenever the Public service will admit, that Your Lordship will indulge me with the favor of being relieved.

these Frenchmen: "The English, on arriving at Manila, had with them about three hundred and fifty Frenchmen, enrolled by force. These people formed a plan to desert them at the first opportunity. The English had not yet finished their battery, when the little French troop sent two trusty men to confer with the place and to agree with them for a sortie, during which the French troop would take the side of the Spaniards. Two men were sacrificed; they went without weapons, their arms crossed, to present themselves at the gate of the city. Instead of opening it to them, they were allowed to be massacred by the Indians who did not know them. At Manila, innumerable chimerical ideas have been formed as to the sudden arrival of these two men. But what can two men who come without weapons and with crossed arms to present themselves at the gate of a city do? What is there to fear from them to refuse to receive them? I believe that they were taken for English at Manila, and that a poorly understood religious motive was the reason for the very great fault of not opening the gate to them. Whatever it was, this treatment did not engage others to sacrifice themselves. But the English, having some doubt of some resolution on the part of the French, put it out of their power to attempt anything to their prejudice, by placing them between the Sepoys and their national troops, with orders to fire on these French, if they were seen to comport themselves differently than the others."

For a more particular State of the Squadron I take the liberty of referring your Lordship to Captⁿ. Kempenfelt, whom I send with my dispatches, and will have the Honour to present to you some Coppar Plates of the Philippine Islands, that were found in Manila.[25] This Gentleman having approved Himself a very able & diligent officer, as such I beg leave to recommend Him to Your Lordship's Protection. I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect Your Lordship's most

obliged & most humble Servᵗ

Sᵗ. CORNISH

[25] *Scots Magazine* for 1763, xxv, p. 235, contains the following in regard to these plates: "They write from London, of April 21, thus. 'There were found at the Manilas, among many other curiosities, and brought here by Col. Draper, eight copper-plates, on which are engraved a most particular map of the Philippine islands, adorned with the customs and habits of the inhabitants of those parts, which was done by order of the governor, in 1734, and dedicated to his Catholic Majesty.'– By an advertisement since inserted in the papers, some few impressions are proposed to be taken of these original copper-plates." What is probably one of these impressions was sold recently by the firm of Henry Stevens, Son and Stiles, London, to the Library of Congress. This is the celebrated Murillo Velarde map. The map is printed in four sheets, as are also the pictures (three to a sheet) of the "customs and habits of the inhabitants," and are so arranged that the map is in the middle with the pictures grouped on its right and left sides. The map as sold by the above firm was arranged in two large sheets, with a margin left so that the sheets could be easily joined. The whole map if pasted on one single sheet with the pictures would measure about 1170 mm. wide, and 1082-1087 mm. high. The difference in height between the two halves seems to be due to the lines not being drawn quite true on the plates, although shrinkage of paper may affect it slightly. This map is described by Pardo de Tavera in his *El mapa de Filipinas del P. Murillo Velarde* (Manila, 1894); and *La carte des Philippines du Pere Murillo Velarde* (Paris, 1898), the latter being a separate or "Extrait du Bulletin de geographie," No. 1, 1897. Marcel reproduces several of the pictures. The map contained in the Ayer Murillo Velarde is unaccompanied by the pictures, and was engraved in 1744. We are indebted for much of this note to the courtesy of the above-named firm.

Norfolk, off Cavita in the Bay of Manila 1st of Novr. 1762.

[*Endorsed*: "Copy of a Letter from Admiral Cornish to Lord Anson giving an acct. of Taking of the Manila Islands: Novr. 1st. 1762. Rece'd at the Admty. April 14th. 1763 at night."]

LETTERS FROM GENERAL DRAPER TO EARL OF EGREMONT

A copy of Brigadier General Draper's Letter to the R^t. Hoñble The Earl of Egremont his Majesty's Principal secretary of State for the southern Department[26]

Manila Nov^r. 1^st. 1762

My Lord

I do myself the Honour of sending Lieut. Colonel Scott late adjutant General to inform you of the success of his Majesty's arms in the conquest of manila,[27]

[26] Lord Egremont was a man of small ability who succeeded Pitt as secretary of state. See Hunt's *Political History of England* (New York and London, 1905), x, p. 32.

[27] Le Gentil (ii, pp. 264, 265), says that the British made many mistakes in the expedition against Manila. They should, he says, have first seized the posts about Manila, and the city would have fallen of its own accord because of its weakness, without the necessity of a siege; and in addition the "Filipino" would not have been able to escape. Another mistake was made in allowing Anda to form his army.

The following communications are interesting as showing the diplomatic side of the British expedition against Manila. These letters all bear the same pressmark as the present document (all being contemporary government copies of the real originals), and are to be found at folios 15-16 verso, 23, 23 verso, 33 verso, 34, and 45.

21 Janry 1763

To Gove^r. Crommelin

Sir

As it is my duty to acquaint his majesty's principal Secretary of State with all important Transactions in which his majesty's

and the Cession of the Phillipin Islands to the British Throne, on the 6 of October, we took that Capital by storm, wherein nothing could equal the conduct

Troops in this part of the World are concerned. I beg leave to request you will send me the Paragraph of the Letter relative to the Capture of Manila that I may transmit it to England by this opportunity. I also request you will order the Packet to be kept open until you have received my Letter which shall be sent as soon as possible. Had I been acquainted with this sooner, I should not have troubled you to detain the Packet.

I am

&c^{a}. S. L. M.

From the Gover^{r}. 21 Janry 1763

Sir

I am favoured with yours of this date and agreeable to your Request our Secretary is directed to send you a Copy of the advise we received yesterday relative to the Capture of manila and to keep the Packet open till he receives your letter.

I am &c^{a}.

Signed Cha Crommelin

From M^{r}. Ramsay 21 Janry 1763

Sir

I am directed by the Hoñble the Presed^{t}. and Council to send you the accompanying copy of a Paragraph of a Letter from the Chief and Factors at Tellicherry containing the agreeable news of the surrender of manila to his majesty's arms on which important acquisition, I beg leave, Sir, to congratulate and am respectfully Sir &c^{a}

Signed And^{w}. Ramsay
Sec^{ry}.

Copy of a Paragraph of a Letter from the Chief & Factors at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay dated 10 January 1763 & received 20th. following ℔ Express Boat, "We "addressed you under the 28th. & 29th. ultimo ℔ ship Royal "Admiral and the Chief having received by a Private Letter from "the Resident at Calicutt, the agreeable news of a Macao ship "arrived at Cochin, bringing advice of the surrender of manila in "four days to Admiral Cornish we dispatch this Boat, tho unac-"quainted with any other particulars, Chiefly to advise your Hon-"our &c^{a}. of it, and Request your acceptance of our Congratula-"tions on so Considerable an acquisition. Immediately on our "learning any further accounts we shall send away another Boat "with them,

A True Copy.

signed And^{w}. Ramsay
Secry.

& bravery of the officers & Troops – but their moderation afterwards notwithstanding the great Provocations to Exert all the severities & Rigours of war,

To the Earl of Bute 21 Janry 1763

My Lord

Having the Honour to Command his Majesty's Troops here, I esteem it my duty to send your Lordship the enclosed Paragraph of a Letter of the Governour & Council here received yesterday from the Chief and Factors at Tellicherry of which we hourly expect confirmation. I have the Honour to congratulate your Lordship on the success of his Majesties arms & of being with the highest respect

My Lord

2 Duplicates Your Lord^{p}. &c^{a}.

℔ Express over Land S. L. M.

From M^{r}. Ramsay Secretary 2^{d} Febuary (*sic*) 1763

Sir

I am directed by the Hoñble the President and Council to send you the enclosed attested Copy of a Paragraph of a Letter received yesterday from the Chief and Factors at Tellicherry and to acquaint you that the Tartar snow, which has hither to been detained at Surat Bar, in Expectation of receiving a more Certain and particular acco^{t}. of the Capture of Manilha will shortly be dispatched from thence, if therefore you have any further advices to transmit to Europe you will be pleased to prepare them, as soon as possible that they may be duly forwarded by Sir &c^{a}.

signed Ad^{w}. Ramsay

follows the Paragraph Secry

"We have received no further particulars regarding Manilha ex-
"cept that the day of it's surrender was the 6th october.

To M^{r}. Ramsay 2^{d} February 1763

Sir

I have just now received your Letter enclosing a Paragraph from Tellicherry, and I here with send you a Letter for the secret^{y}. of state, which I desire you will forward by the Tartar snow,

I am &c^{a}.

S. L. M.

To the Earl of Bute 2^{d} February 1763

My Lord

Having just now had the enclosed Paragraph sent me by the Governour & Council here I do myself the Honour of immediately transmitting it to your Lordship

I am &c^{a}.

S. L. M.

A letter from "Captain Duff of the 89th Regim^{t}.," dated "Fort S^{t}. George 24 Jañry 1763" contains the following:

as my secretary Lieu[t]. Fryer had been murdered with a Flag of Truce but British Humanity was superior to vengeance the Troops considered rather how Englishmen should act than what the spaniards ought to suffer they received all the suppliants to Mercy: as the Distruction of so fine a City was not the object of the War, Admiral Cornish & I Dictated the inclosed Conditions to the Governour & Chief Magistrates they were most readily accepted & we flatter ourselves that the Term's, considering their situation were as moderate for them as Beneficial for us, the East India company is to have a third part of the Ransom

In obedience to his majesty's Commands, I have delivered up Manila & the port of Cavite to the Gentlemen appointed to receive them in behalf of the Company with all the Cannon ammunition and Warlike stores found therein, according to the inclosed Lists, the Kings Goodness has granted them one of the richest Cities & Islands in the World, in Fertility

"In my letter sent by Capt[n] Morrison I mentioned the news of this place at that time, in particular the arrival of Captain Wood of the Company's Troops from Manilha with the account of the surrender of that place to General Draper the 6[th] of last October he says that the Field officers have all made their fortunes and that General Draper with Colonel Scott and two or three more officers were to go home in November on board the seahorse man of War. It is said each of the field officers have Cleared £ 12,000 and in the event of the acapulco ship being taken, of which they seemed to be pretty certain they should share very near as much more. The General and admirals shares are prodigious."

The above paragraph was sent by S. L. M. to the "Governour & Council, 4 march 1763."

A letter from "General Lawrence, Fort, S[t]. George 9 February 1763" says:

"The Expedition to Manila has deprived us of so many men & we are not likely to have them again, that we are in great want here. I beg you will remind the Governour of sending the remainder of Monsons whenever opportunity's offer."

& every other blessing of nature not inferiour to any belonging to the British Crown, if the turn of affairs in Europe can perpetuate Possession it may prove a source of Commerce & wealth not to be equalled in any other port of the Globe; the season of the year & the Condition of the squadron will not permit M^r^. Cornish to take Possession of the subordinate Islands that have been ceded to his Majesty, till the ships are repaired the admirals zeal for his Majesty's service & his great & essential service to us, during the whole course of the Expedition & fatiguing operations of the seige are beyond all praise all the other officers of His squadron Exerted themselves to the utmost upon [e]very occasion, the Captains Collins Pitchford and George Ourry who commanded the corps of five hundred seamen, whom the admiral was so obligeing to support me with behaved with the greatest spirit & good Conduct, & were of singular use to us their men and the marines behaved with their usual activity Life and Intrepedity

In my letters from Madrass & their Duplicates I took the Liberty to inform your Lordship how much I depended upon the great abilities of Colo. Monson for the success of the Interprize; the Reduction of the place has been so much owing to his Consumate skill & Bravery that it would be doing him the highest Injustice not to name him in a particular manner I blush to give him orders & most humbly beg leave through your Lordship to recommend him to his Majesty & shall esteem my own poor services most abundantly rewarded by any mark of the Royal favour to him and the following Gentlemen. L^t^. Colo. Scott, Major Barker, who Commanded the artillery, Captain Stevenson chief Engineer (with

majors Cotsford & Barnard) Captain Fletcher major of Brigade my nephew Capt^{n}. moore Captain Pemble aides de camp they have all acted in their several departments with such great merit as much facilitated my good fortune the two Corps of his Majesty's & the Company's artillery & their other Troop's behaved Exceeding well. In the last place I beg leave to represent the services of my own Regiment which under the good conduct of their former & Present field officers, the Majors Fell and Drake, has the Peculiar merit of having first stop'd the Progress of the French in India, turned and decided the fate of the War there, and Carry'd the Glory of his majesty's arms to the utmost verge of Asia, seventy three officers & above eight hundred men have fallen the victims of their own vallour & the cause of the Publick, since the Regiment left England, besides the numbers who have been wounded the widows & orphans Occasioned by this severe service are very numerous, Your Lordship^{s} goodness encourages me to mention them as objects of Compassion

I am My Lord with the greatest respect

Your &c^{a}.

signed WILL^{M}. DRAPER

Brig^{r}. Gen^{l}. & Comm^{r}. in chief.

Capt^{n}. Fletcher has ten stands of Colours to lay at his majesty's Feet.

[The following letter, dated one day later than the above, appears to be a second and more careful draft of substantially the same letter.]

Whitehall, April 16. 1763. On Thursday night, Lt-Col. Scott arrived with the following letter to the

Earl of Egremont, from Brig-Gen. Draper, who also arrived himself about the same time.

Manila, Nov. 2, 1762.

My Lord,

I do myself the honour of sending Lt-Col Scott, late adjutant-general, to inform your Lordship of the success of his Majesty's arms in the conquest of Manila, the surrender of the port of Cavite, and the cession of the Philippine islands.

On the 6th of October we took the capital by storm, after twelve days operation, which are detailed in my journal. Our loss upon this occasion would have been trifling, but for the death of Maj. More, a valiant good officer; and it is with particular satisfaction I can assure your Lordship, that the firm bravery and perseverance of the troops could only be equalled by their humanity after victory. Out of respect and deference to Adm. Cornish, we waited till he came on shore; and, being desirous to save so fine a city from destruction, we jointly dictated the annexed conditions to the Governor-General (the Archbishop), and the chief magistrates; who most readily embraced them.

Considering their critical situation, and vast opulence, the terms were as reasonable for them as beneficial to us. We allow the India company a third part of the ransom, the whole of which amounts to a million Sterling;[28] and, according to my instructions,

[28] A correspondent writes to the editor of *Scots Magazine* under date of June 21, 1767 (see *Scots Magazine* for 1767, pp. 305, 306) the following: "By an advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 13th instant, notice is given to the officers and soldiers who are intitled to share in the capture of Manilla, that they will, on the 3d of July next, be paid their respective shares of the sum of 8053 l. 17 s. 8d. arising from sales of stores taken at

I have this day delivered up Manila, one of the richest cities and islands in this part of the world, with the port of Cavite, to Dawson Drake, Esq; and the other gentlemen appointed to receive them on behalf of the company, with all the artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores found therein, agreeable to the inclosed inventories.

Manilla, and other prizes; 'one third part of the sum being first deducted, as the proportion allotted to the East-India company.' And as many disputes have arisen concerning the right of the East-India company to share in those conquests, permit me to state the matter in its true light. In the years 1757 and 1758, the East-India company's principal settlements in that part of the world, were in the utmost danger of being totally ruined, and their trade destroyed, by the superior forces of the French; and on a proper representation to government, a fleet was fitted out, at a very considerable national expence, to save them from the then impending ruin. The forces sent out in the year 1758 for this purpose, met with the desired success: Calcutta was retaken; Pondecherry, Vellure, Arney, and several other principal forts, cities, and garrisons, were taken from the French, with money, stores, ammunition, and other effects, to the amount of some millions, which the East-India company, or their servants, took the entire possession of, and have appropriated to their own use, though by the laws of conquest, as well as by his Majesty's gracious declaration, the whole of the booty belongs to those brave officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were at the reduction of those important conquests. After the uncommon fatigues and hardships of his Majesty's troops in the reduction of those places, they were ordered to the siege of Manilla; which they took by storm: and that city being afterwards ransomed by the Spaniards for one million Sterling, *this powerful and generous ally, the East-India company*, was modest enough to demand *only* one-third part of the entire ransom; and one-fourth part of the said million Sterling being paid shortly after the conquest, and hostages delivered to his Majesty's commanders, as sureties for payment of the remainder, the East-India company were accordingly paid one third part of 250,000 l. and the hostages delivered over to their governor there; but, for reasons best known to themselves, their governor thought proper to deliver up the said hostages to the Spaniards, without taking any further security for the payment of the remainder of the ransom, being 750,000 l. and therefore not one shilling thereof has been since paid. This, Sir, is the true state of this shameful and scandalous transaction, which I have no doubt but you will speedily communicate to the public."

I have appointed Maj. Fell of the 79th regiment to be commandant of the garrison; which must consist of all the troops brought from Madrass, as the great extent of the place, its very numerous inhabitants, and unsettled country, with the importance of the Cavite, demand at least this force for an effectual security.

The season of the year, and condition of the squadron, oblige us to defer the taking possession of the subordinate places ceded to the crown, until the ships have had a sufficient repair; and I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that the large quantity of naval stores taken in the royal magazines at Cavite, supply most excellent materials for this purpose, in which the Admiral is indefatigable; whose zeal for his Majesty's service, great cordiality, and constant attention to us during the whole course of the expedition, and fatiguing progress of the siege, are beyond all praise. The other officers of the fleet exerted themselves to the utmost upon every occasion. As a small acknowledgment of our many obligations to Mr Kempenfeldt, the Admiral's Captain, I begged his acceptance of the government of the citadel and port of Cavite, till it was given up to the company. His prudent and excellent regulations there, were of the greatest utility to the public service.

The Captains Collins, Pitchford, and George Ourry, who commanded the battalion of seamen, behaved with great spirit and conduct; and Capt. Jocelyn, who was intrusted with the care of the disimbarkations, gave us all the assistance that could be wished or expected from a diligent good officer. The marine officers and corps were of great service, and the seamen astonished us with most extraordin-

ary proofs of activity and valour, particularly those who assisted at our batteries.

The reduction of Manila has been so much owing to the consummate skill and bravery of Col. Monson, that I fear my faint representations cannot do justice to his merits; and I most humbly beg leave, through your Lordship, to recommend him to his Majesty: together with the following officers, *viz.* Lt-Col Scott; Maj. Barker, who commanded our artillery; Capt. Fletcher, major of brigade; the Engineers Capt. Stevenson and Cotsford, and Ens. Barnard; the Captains Moore and Pemble, aides-de-camp, who have all acted in their several departments with extraordinary merit, and greatly facilitated my good fortune. Both the Royal and the Company's Artillery, with their other troops, behaved very well. In the last place, may I presume to point out the services of the 79th regiment, which, from the good conduct of their former and present field officers, has the peculiar merit of having first stopped the progress of the French in India, and not a little contributed to the happy turn and decision of that war under Col. Coote, and has since extended the glory of his Majesty's arms to the utmost verge of Asia. Twenty-three officers, with upwards of 800 men, have fallen, in the cause of their country, since the regiment left England: numbers of the survivors are wounded. Your Lordship's goodness encourages me to mention them as objects of compassion and protection. Capt. Fletcher has nine colours to lay at his Majesty's feet.[29] ——I have the honour to be, *&c.*

WILLIAM DRAPER,
Brig-General, and Commander in Chief.

[29] Published with the first two of the following "Proposals"

Proposals made to their Excellencies his Britannic Majesty's Commanders in Chief by Sea and Land, by his Excellency the Archbishop, Captain-General of the Phillippine Islands, the Royal Audience, the City, and Commerce of Manila.

Art. I. That their effects and possessions shall be secured to them, under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, with the same liberty they have heretofore enjoyed.– Granted.

II. That the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, be preserved and maintained in its free exercise and functions, by its pastors and faithful ministers.– Granted.

III. That the families which are retired into the country may have free liberty to return unmolested. – Granted.

IV. That the same indemnification and liberty may extend to persons of both sexes, inhabitants of this city, without any prejudice or molestation to their interior commerce.– They may carry on all sorts of commerce as British subjects.

V. Having great confidence in the manners and politeness of their Excellencies the Britannic Generals, hope they will use their best endeavours in preserving peace and quietness in the city and suburbs, chastising all people who shall dare to oppose their superior orders.– Granted.

VI. That the inhabitants of this city may enjoy the same liberty of commerce as they have had heretofore, and that they may have proper passports

and "Conditions" in *London Gazette*, April 16-19, 1763; *London Chronicle*, 1763, pp. 369-370; *London Magazine*, 1763, pp. 212-214; *Dublin Magazine*, 1763, pp. 245-248; *Universal Magazine*, 1763, pp. 199-201.

granted them for that end.– Answered by the 4th article.

VII. That the same liberty may be granted to the natives of the country for bringing in all manner of provisions, according to their usual method, without the least opposition or extortion, paying for them in the same manner as hath been heretofore practised.– Granted; but any person coming in with any fire-arms, or offensive weapons, will be put to death.

VIII. That the ecclesiastical government may be tolerated, and have free liberty to instruct the faithful, especially the native inhabitants.– They must not attempt to convert any of our Royal Master's Protestant subjects to the Popish faith.

IX. That the use and exercise of the economical government of the city may remain in its same freedom and liberty.– Granted.

X. That the authority, as well political as civil, may still remain in the hands of the Royal Audience, to the end that, by their means, a stop may be put to all disorders, and the insolent and guilty be chastised. – To be subject to the superior controul of our government.

XI. That the said ministers and royal officers, their persons and goods, be in full security, be maintained in their honours, with a stipend sufficient for their support, his Catholic Majesty being answerable for the same; upon those conditions the above-mentioned ministers will be under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, in the same manner as the rest of the inhabitants.– His Catholic Majesty must pay for their support.

XII. That the inhabitants may have free liberty

to reside within, or out of the city, as shall be most convenient for them.– Still to be subject to the revocation of our government, if they find it necessary.

Done at head-quarters in the city of Manila, this 6th[30] Day of October, 1762.

S. CORNISH
W. DRAPER

MAN. ANT. Arzp. de Manila, Gov. y Cap. Gen. de las Philipinas.
FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ DE VILLACOURTA
MANUEL GALBAN Y VENTURA
FRANCISCO LEANDRO DE VIANA

Conditions on which the city of Manila shall be preserved from Plunder, and the Inhabitants preserved in their Religion, Goods, Liberties and Properties, under the Government and Protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. I. The Spanish officers of every rank shall be esteemed as prisoners of war, upon their parole of honour, but shall have the liberty of wearing their swords. The rest of the troops, of every degree and quality, must be disarmed, and disposed of as we shall think proper. They shall be treated with humanity.

II. All the military stores, and magazines, of every kind, must be surrendered, faithfully, to our Commissaries, and nothing secreted or damaged.

III. His Excellency the Governor must send immediate orders to the fort of Cavite, and the other

[30] This date is given as the 7th in *Colonel Draper's Answer*, and in Draper's *Plain Narrative*; but all other sources available give the 6th.

forts under his command, and dependent upon Manila, to surrender to his Britannic Majesty.

IV. The propositions contained in the paper delivered on the part of his Excellency the Governor, and his council, will be listened to, and confirmed to them, upon their payment of four millions of dollars, the half to be paid immediately, the other half to be paid in a time to be agreed upon, and hostages and security given for that purpose.

Done in the city of Manila, Oct. 6, 1762.

S. CORNISH
W. DRAPER

MANUEL ANT. Arzp. de Manila, Gov. y Cap. Gen. de las Philippinas.
FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ DE VILLACOURTA
MANUEL GALBAN Y VENTURA
FRANCISCO LEANDRO DE VIANA[31]

All the islands subordinate to Luconia, and Manila its capital, and which are at present under the domination of his Catholic Majesty, must be ceded to his Britannic Majesty, who must be acknowledged sovereign till the fate of these islands is decided by a peace between the two Kings. Their religion, goods, liberties, properties, and commerce, shall be preserved to the inhabitants of those islands who are subjects of Spain, in as ample a manner as they are confirmed to the inhabitants of Manila, and the island of Luconia. All the governors and military shall be allowed the honours of war; but give their parole, as the officers have done at Manila and Cavite, not to

[31] These signatures are omitted by *Scots Magazine*; we take them from *The Universal Magazine*.

serve or take up arms against his Britannic Majesty.
Dated at Manila, Oct. 30, 1762.

S. CORNISH
W. DRAPER

MAN. ANT. Arzp. de Manila, Gov. y Cap. Gen. de las Philippinas.
FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ DE VILLACOURTA
MANUEL GALBAN Y VENTURA
FRANCISCO LEANDRO DE VIANA[32]

[We add here also, as being its proper place, the following "Proposals," taken from Draper's *Plain Narrative*, pp. 27-30, which we find nowhere else.]

Proposals of their Excellencies his Britannic Majesty's Commanders in Chief, which are agreed to by the Most Illustrious Governor of these Islands, as likewise the Royal Audience, the City and Commerce with the Clergy, both secular and regular.

Art. I. That the Governor would give immediate Orders for delivering up the Port of Cavita, with its Fortifications, which has been executed by an Order to the Castiliana of the said Port, which was shewn to their Excellencies, and sent to the Serjeant Major of the said Port.

II. To satisfy the Four Millions of Dollars, which are immediately demanded by the aforementioned Commanders in Chief, all the Capitals of the public Funds, such as the Misericordia, the Ordentercarra,[33] and the religious Communities, as also

[32] These signatures are taken from *The Universal Magazine.*

[33] Possibly for *Orden tercera*, referring to the tertiary branch of one of the religious orders.

what belongs to the Archbishop, which shall be found in being; and what shall be wanting of the Compliment of the said Four Millions, shall be made up by the Capitals which the said Ship Phillippina shall bring in, with Condition, that if the said Ship should be taken by his Britannic Majesty's Ships before the Time that the Advice dispatched by his Excellency the Governor shall arrive to her, ordering her to come into this Bay; or if the Capital therein should not be sufficient to compleat the said Four Millions, they will give a Bill on his Catholic Majesty; and if the said Ship should not be taken with the Capital therein contained at the Time that the Commander of the Ship Phillippina may receive Orders to conduct her here, the whole shall be given up to make up the Sum of Four Millions. But in Case there should not be sufficient to make up the whole Sum, they will give Bills on the Treasury of his Most Catholic Majesty.

In this Manner the said Proposals are agreed to on the Part of his Excellency the Governor and his Council, and confirmed by their Excellencies the Britannic Commanders in Chief, according to the fourth Proposition of their Excellencies, bearing Date the 6th Day of October, 1762.

Signed by the Archbishop and the Ovidores of the City of Manila.

Counterpart signed by

REAR ADMIRAL CORNISH
and
BRIGADIER GENERAL DRAPER

DRAPER'S JOURNAL

A journal of the proceedings of his Majesty's forces on the expedition against Manila

The troops allotted for this enterprise were the 79th regiment, and a company of the Royal Artillery. The auxiliaries furnished by the gentlemen at Madrass, consisted of thirty of their artillery, six hundred Seapoys, a company of Caffrees, one of Topazes, and one of pioneers; to which they added the precarious assistance of two companies of Frenchmen, inlisted in their service, with some hundreds of unarmed Lascars for the use of the engineers and park of artillery. As a compensation for this feeble supply of men, they favoured us with some very good officers in every branch of the service. Rear Adm. Cornish reinforced our little army with a fine battalion of five hundred and fifty seamen and two hundred and seventy good marines. So that the whole force for the land operations amounted to two thousand three hundred men; who, with the necessary stores, were imbarked on board of his Majesty's squadron, and two India ships employed as transports, with an activity and dispatch that did great honour to all concerned in those arrangements.[34]

[34] Draper's *Journal* should be compared throughout with Rojo's. The Spanish figures for the English force are as follows: 13 war-

The preparations were commenced, completed, and shipped, in three weeks, through a raging and perpetual surf, by which some lives were lost.

As Maj.-Gen. Lawrence was of opinion, that the settlements would be in danger if more forces were drawn from the coast, the two battalions of the company's troops, all the cavalry, six thousand Seapoys, with the part of Col. Monson's, and the highlanders, then at Madrass, were left for their security. The Medway, York, and Chatham, that were hourly expected, had orders left for them to remain for the protection of the trade. We sailed, with the Admiral's division, the first of August. The Seahorse, Capt. Grant, was previously dispatched through the streights of Malacca to the entrance of the China sea, to stop all vessels that might be bound to Manila, or sent from any of our neighbouring settlements to give the Spaniards notice of the design. Commodore Tyddyman, with the first division of the fleet and troops under Col. Monson, sailed two days before us, that our watering might be more speedily completed at Malacca; where we arrived the nineteenth of August. We there bought up a large quantity of rattans to make gabions, a good number of which was finished on board the several ships. The twenty-seventh we sailed for our second rendezvous, off the island of Timon. The necessary signals and instructions were then given for landing on the coast of Luconia.

ships, which the blind authorities believed to be a Chinese trading fleet (Malo de Luque's *Establecimientos ultramarinos*, Madrid, 1790, v, p. 238); 1,500 European soldiers; two companies of artillerymen; 3,000 European seamen armed with muskets; 800 Sepoy musketeers, and 1,400 for work – a total of 6,830 men. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 13; and Rojo's *Journal*, *post.*

On the twenty-third of September we anchored in Manila bay; and soon found, that our visit was unexpected; the Spaniards were unprepared.[35] To increase as much as possible the visible confusion and consternation of the enemy, we determined to lose no time in the attack of the port of Cavite, that was at first intended, but proceed directly to the grand object, judging that our conquest there would of course occasion and draw after it the fall of Cavite. On the morning of the twenty-fourth, we sent an ineffectual summons to the town, and, with the Admiral and other principal officers, examined the coast, in order to fix upon a proper spot for landing the troops, artillery, and stores. We found a most convenient place about two miles to the south of Manila. Accordingly, all the boats were immediately prepared by the proper signals: and three frigates, the Argo, Capt. King; Seahorse, Capt. Grant; and Seaford, Capt. Peighin, were sent in very near the shore to cover the descent. The 79th regiment, the marines, a detachment of artillery, with three field-pieces, and one howitzer, fixed in the

[35] Some Armenian merchants from Madras told the archbishop that a squadron was being prepared there for the capture of Manila. A certain secular priest had a letter which contained the same news; while Father Cuadrado, O.S.A., received another letter which mentioned the declaration of war between England and Spain. On September 14, word was received in Manila from the outposts on the island of Corregidor of the appearance of a vessel there the preceding day. A small boat sent ashore from this vessel inquired how many vessels were in the bay, and whether the "Filipino" had entered. This vessel left on the 17th without any salute. This produced no other sensation in Manila than some slight suspicions, and no preparations were taken. Word was, however, despatched to the "Filipino" to make some other port than at Manila. See Le Gentil's *Voyage*, ii, pp. 236, 237; Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 12, 13; and *Sitio y conquista de Manila* (Zaragoza, 1897), by Marquis de Ayerbe, pp. 33, 34.

long-boats, assembled in three divisions under their sterns; the left, commanded by Col. Monson, quartermaster-general; the centre by me, with Lt-Col. Scott the adjutant-general; the right by Maj. More, the eldest field officer. As we had determined to land near a church and village called *Malata*, that was opposite our left, the other two divisions, which had been separated only to amuse and distract the attention of the enemy, were ordered to join that as soon as possible. About six in the evening we pushed, with an even front, for the shore, under the prudent and skilful management of the Captains Parker of the Grafton, Kempenfelt the Admiral's captain, and Brereton of the Falmouth, who had the direction of the boats. The frigates kept up a brisk fire to the right and left of us, to protect our flanks, and disperse the enemy, who were beginning to assemble in great numbers both horse and foot, to oppose our descent. This cannonade had the desired effect. They retired, and left us a clear coast. But a violent surf arose, many boats were dashed to pieces, our arms and ammunition much damaged; providentially no lives were lost. We formed upon the beach, marched, and took possession of the Malata, fixed our outposts, and passed the whole night under arms. The Spaniards were employed in burning part of their suburbs.

The twenty-fifth we seized a fort which the Spaniards had abandoned, named the *Polverista*,[36] that proved a most excellent place of arms, for cover-

[36] While the Spaniards were deliberating on the defense of this place, the British captured it. Two companies of fifty men each who had been sent for its defense fled on seeing the British before them, with the exception of twenty-five men, under Captain Baltasar Cosar. See *Sitio y conquista de Manila*, p. 38.

ing the landing of our stores, and securing our communication with the squadron. Col. Monson, who was detached with two hundred men to view the roads and approaches to Manila, occupied the Hermita church, large and commodious, about nine hundred yards from the city. We made the priest's house the headquarters; sent orders to Maj. More to march up with the 79th regiment to secure and maintain this post, which was of the utmost consequence, both from its strength, and the great cover it afforded us from the rains that had deluged the country, and made it impossible to incamp; for we too soon found, that the monsoon had broke upon us. The surf continued dangerous; the rains increased; the landing of our artillery and stores became very hazardous; our remaining troops were put on shore with much peril, and some loss; Lieut. Hardwick was drowned. But the courage and activity of the seamen surmounted all obstacles; they got on shore part of the Seapoys, some provisions, and such stores as were first wanted, and by signals demanded from the squadron; the officers of which were indefatigable in giving us all possible assistance; and Capt. Jocelyn, who was intrusted with the care of the disimbarkation, did every thing that could be wished or expected from a diligent good officer. We left the marines at our first post, the Malata, to be near the Polverista, to preserve our communications, and guard our stores and park of artillery. The men, from the good conduct and example of their officers, behaved very well, and were of great use upon all occasions. As the rains had forced us to seek the protection of the houses that were under the fire of the bastions, the Spaniards cannonaded our quarters,

which were much nearer the walls than the usual rules of war prescribe. They attempted likewise to burn more of their suburbs, but were prevented by the great activity and good conduct of Capt. Fletcher, major of brigade, and Capt[s] Stevenson and Cotsford, the engineers; who having advanced under cover of the houses to St. Jago's [*i.e.*, Santiago] church, near the sea, and within three hundred yards of the town, reported its importance so sensibly, that we posted a body of men there, notwithstanding its contiguity to their bastions. The enemy soon fired upon us; but not with perseverance or effect enough to dislodge us. We had some few men killed and wounded.

Twenty-sixth. The Admiral sent on shore the battalion of seamen under the command of the Captains Collins of the Weymouth, Pitchford of the America, and George Ourry from the Panther. They were cantoned between the 79th regiment and the marines. The rest of the company's troops of all sorts were likewise landed, and put under cover. The Spaniards advanced out of the garrison, under the command of the Chevalier Fayett,[37] with four hundred men, and two field-pieces; and from a church, about two hundred yards to the right of that we yesterday took possession of, near the sea, begun a cannonade upon the right flank of our post. Some Seapoys, under Ens. Carty, who behaved very well, were first sent to skirmish with them, supported by three piquets of the 79th regiment, and one hundred seamen, all under the command of Col. Monson, who soon drove

[37] Called César Fallet in the Spanish accounts, but Le Gentil gives his name as Fayette. He was a French officer then in the Spanish service, and was later at Pondicherry. See *post*, Rojo's *Journal*. Rojo's account makes the Spanish force larger.

the enemy back into the town. In their precipitate flight, one of the field-pieces was left upon the glacis.

The superior skill and bravery of our people were so evident from this affair, that it occasioned a second summons to the Governor; but to no purpose: the answer was much more spirited than their conduct had been.[38] Col. Monson had orders to keep possession of this second church, if he found it tenible: for as we had not men enough, or dry ground to make regular approaches, we were forced into these measures, rash as they seem, and contrary to all rules of our profession, by our critical situation. From the top of this post, which we called N° 2, we had a perfect view of the enemy's works. The front we were obliged to attack, was defended by the bastions

[38] The council of war called on the twenty-fifth of September (the twenty-sixth, English date) because of the English summons for surrender, was attended by the following, under the presidency of the archbishop: Auditors Villacorta, Galbán, and Anda; the fiscal Francisco Leandro de Viana; the marquis de Villamediana, master-of-camp and commandant of the garrison; Martin de Goicocoa, sargento-mayor of the city; the marquis de Monte-Castro y Llana Hermosa, Leandro Rodríguez Varela, alcalde-in-ordinary; José Antonio Memije y Quirós, alguacil-mayor; Antonio Díaz Conde, provincial alcalde of the Hermandad; Alberto Jacinto Reyes, accountant; and Fernando Carabeo, royal official. After Draper's letter was read, all voted unanimously: "That inasmuch as this place was in condition to continue its defense, as no especial harm had been seen to have been done by the enemy, notwithstanding the continual and lively firing from the 23d when the siege commenced until the present, therefore they are unanimous and in harmony in their opinion that this place should be defended until the last extremity; and the enemy should be informed to the effect that the Spanish arms did not surrender to any power, for they alone venerated their sovereign, whose royal sovereignty never deserted his faithful vassals, not even in the most remote part of this dominion, as were these islands, in which the love and loyalty of their inhabitants was great, and obliged them to the defense of this place." See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 16, 17.

of St. Diego and St. Andrew [*i.e.*, San Diego and San Andrés], with orillons and retired flanks, a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way, and glacis. The bastions were in excellent order, lined with a great number of fine brass cannon; but their ravelin was not armed, the covered way out of repair, the glacis by much too low, and the ditch was not produced round the capital of the bastion of St. Diego, which determined us to attack it, and make our dispositions accordingly.[39] The negligence and omission of the enemy to post centries in the covered way, gave us an opportunity of sounding the ditch; which perilous enterprise was effected by a small party of the 79th regiment, under Capt. Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake it. The Spaniards fired from their bastion, and killed or wounded three of our people. The depth of the water was only five feet, the breadth about thirty yards. As the great extent of this populous city made it impossible to invest it with our handful of men, two sides were constantly open to the Spaniards, to introduce supplies of men and provisions, and carry out their effects. They availed themselves of our weakness. Their own garrison of eight hundred men of the Royal regiment, under the command of the Marcus of Villa Mediana, brigadier-general, was augmented by a body of ten thousand Indians from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and barbarous people. These disadvantages were not to be remedied, as we could not take possession of Minondo, Tondo, and La vera Cruz, the posts which commanded the river, and communication with the country. The inundations had secured

[39] Cf. Rojo's description of the fortifications of Manila, *post*.

their Parian suburb; but no difficulties could check the ardor of the troops, who labored incessantly in making fascines and gabions, and preparing everything for the construction and opening of our batteries. One for small shells was completed this night, and played upon the bastion of St. Diego. Its position was behind the church, nearest the sea, called N° 1. The officers of the artillery and engineers exerted themselves in a manner, that nothing but their zeal for the public service could have inspired.

Twenty-seventh. The Governor sent out a flag of truce, to apologize for some barbarities committed by the savages lately mentioned, who had murdered some straggling seamen; and to request, that a nephew of his, taken in the bay, might be sent on shore. This gentleman had been dispatched from the Philippina galleon, just arrived on the coast from Acapulco, with the first advices of the war. Hostilities ceased till eleven at night, when we recommenced our fire from the mortars, increased them to four, and placed a six-pounder on our left flank, as a further security for our post at St. Jago's church. As the capture of the galleon, and her treasure, might be well esteemed a national object, Mr. Cornish proposed sending the Panther and Argo from the squadron to intercept her, which was consented to; and the officers of the navy very generously agreed to our sharing any prizes that might be taken in this cruise, as we had before consented to their sharing with us in any booty that might be taken at land; and the distribution to be made according to the rules his Majesty has fixed for the sea-service. The Admiral likewise sent on shore eight twenty-four

pounders ship guns, and two eighteen-pounders, for our battering train; as, to save time, we brought only the land-carriages and platforms from Madrass.

Twenty-eighth. The Governor's nephew was landed. My secretary, Lieut. Fryar, was ordered to conduct him into the town with a flag of truce. In the mean time, a large party of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out to attack our second post, N° 2. by which Lieut. Fryar was advancing to the ravelin-gate. The barbarians, without respecting his character, inhumanly murdered him, mangling his body in a manner too shocking to mention. In their fury they mortally wounded the other gentleman, who had endeavoured to save Mr. Fryar. Our party received their onset with much firmness and bravery, and repulsed them with some loss on their side. As it was evident that the Indians alone were guilty of this horrid piece of barbarity, our soldiers shewed them no mercy.

Twenty-ninth. The Admiral, at my request, ordered the Elizabeth, Com. Tyddyman, and the Falmouth, Capt. Brereton, to place themselves as near the town as the depth of water would permit, and second our operations, by enfilading the front we intended to attack; but the shallows kept them at too great a distance to answer the purpose effectually, though their shot struck much confusion and terror into the inhabitants. We continued our bombardment day and night.

Thirtieth. The engineers traced out Adm. Cornish's battery for eight twenty-four pounders, on the left of St. Jago's church; but the violence of the rains retarded our progress; and the absence of two ships, that had on board a considerable quantity of

fascines, and many of our working and intrenching tools, put us to some inconveniences. The Admiral's goodness supplied these defects: all the smiths and carpenters in the fleet were employed in making those instruments; and by their industry and dispatch, we were enabled to proceed. The Elizabeth and Falmouth persevered in their cannonade upon the town, which was returned from the enemy's sea-line without any effect.

October first and second. The weather grew so very tempestuous, that the whole squadron was in danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off.[40] The violence of the storm forced the South-sea castle storeship (which was lately arrived) from her anchors, and drove her on shore: even in this situation the ship was of great use. Capt. Sherwood enfiladed the whole sea-beach to the southward, and kept in awe a large body of Indians, who menaced the Polverista, and our magazines at the Malata. Nothwithstanding the deluge of rain which accompanied the wind, by the perseverance of the troops and seamen, we completed the battery for the twenty-four pounders, raised a mortar-battery for the heavy shells of ten and thirteen inches, made a good parallel and communication from the church to the gun-battery, and established a spacious place of arms on the left of it, near the sea. The roaring of the waves prevented the enemy from hearing the noise of our workmen in the night. They gave us no interruption, but seemed to trust entirely to the elements; while

[40] Various boats were overturned during the wind, and some of those who escaped to land, among them some Malabar deserters, begged shelter from the Spaniards, but it was refused them with volleys, whereupon they fled. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 50, 51.

the Governor (the Archbishop) gave out, that an angel from the Lord was gone forth to destroy us like the host of Sennacherib.[41] On the afternoon of the 2d, the seamen, with wonderful activity, brought up and mounted all the guns in the battery; which we masked.

Third. The weather became moderate. At daylight the battery was opened against the left face of the bastion of St. Diego, towards the saliant angle. One hundred seamen were appointed to assist the corps of artillery in this service. Our cannon, by the most excellent skill and management of Maj. Barker, and the officers under him, were served with such justness, quickness, and dexterity, that the twelve pieces on that face of the bastion were silenced in a few hours, and the Spaniards drove from them. We had but two men killed. At night we began a battery for three guns, on the left of our place of arms, to silence those that were in barbet upon the orillon of the bastion of St. Andrew, which annoyed our flank.

[41] "In Manila was a Beata who lived on the alms sent her from Mexico, or those which she collected in Manila. She maintained and supported a certain number of girls, who consented to retire with her and to lead the same manner of life – that is to say, a life of retreat and repentance. They followed the rules of no particular order. That community did not have the approbation of the court of Rome, but that did not prevent it from being tolerated, and even from being in excellent odor. She was called Mother Paula. The fiscal had much confidence in her, and sent the greatest part of his possessions to the house of this woman. This Beata assured him that Manila would not fall; that the English were all going to become Catholics; and that the fulfilment of her prediction would speedily be seen. The fiscal believed her. Completely enthused, he went to find the archbishop. 'Sir,' said he, on saluting him, 'we have nothing to fear; I have just left Mother Paula; the English are all going to be converted to the faith; we shall drink excellent wine at their expense.'" See Le Gentil, ii, pp. 240, 241.

We maintained a brisk fire of grape and musketry all the night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embrasures and remounting the cannon. The mortars, now augmented to seven, were kept constantly playing upon the gorge of the bastion, and the contiguous defences.

Fourth. About three hours before day one thousand of the Indians attacked the cantonment of the seamen. They were encouraged to this attempt by the incessant rains in which they flattered themselves our fire-arms would be useless. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes that grew upon the side of a rivulet, which they passed in the night, and by keeping close, eluded the vigilance of the patroles. Upon the alarm, Col. Monson and Capt. Fletcher, with the piquets, were dispatched to the assistance of the seamen, who very sensibly kept firm in their posts, and were contented to repulse them till day-break; when a fresh piquet of the 79th regiment appearing upon the Indians right flank, they fled, were pursued, and dispersed, with the loss of three hundred men. Had their skill or weapons been equal to their strength and ferocity, it might have cost us dear. Although armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of our pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets. This attack cost us some few men; but we lost a most excellent sea officer, Capt. Porter, lieutenant of the Norfolk, sincerely and justly lamented by all. We had scarce finished this affair, when another body of them, with part of the Spanish garrison, again attacked the church N° 2. forced the Seapoys from their post in it, nearest the town, and took possession

of the top, from whence they killed and wounded several of our people, who were entirely exposed to all their weapons. Notwithstanding this disadvantageous situation, the European soldiers maintained their post behind the church with great firmness and patience, and at last dislodged the enemy, with the assistance of some field-pieces, and the good conduct of Maj. Fell, field-officer of the day, Capt. Fletcher, and other brave officers sent to their relief. The Spaniards left seventy dead behind them, in and about the church. On our side, Capt. Strahan, of the 79th regiment, a very good officer, was mortally wounded, and forty private men wounded or killed. This was the enemy's last effort: all their Indians, excepting one thousand eight hundred, discouraged by their losses, returned home. Our working parties and the fire of our batteries, which had been a little interrupted by these attacks, recommenced with greater spirit than ever. We found likewise the good effects of giving the enemy no time to repair their embrasures or carriages in the night. They opened only an inconsiderable fire from three or four embrasures in the curtain, too oblique to have much effect: before night those defences were ruined.

Fifth. Maj. Barker's fire was so violent, that the breach appeared practicable. Our cannon from the three-gun battery silenced those of the enemy on the orillon of St. Andrew. We were in hopes that the Spaniards would be sensible of their danger, and think of giving up the town. But they were obstinate, without bravery, or any generous resolution of defending the breach. In the evening, the design of storming the place was communicated to the

Plan of city of Manila, showing sites occupied by the British in 1762

[*Photographic facsimile from original MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

principal officers of each department only, and the necessary preparations made.[41*]

Sixth. At four o'clock in the morning we filed off from our quarters, in small bodies, to give the less suspicion; and, by degrees, assembled at St. Jago's church; observing the utmost silence, and concealing ourselves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery. Maj. Barker kept up a brisk fire upon the works, and those places where the enemy might be lodged or intrenched. Our mortars were well applied for the same purpose. At day-break we discerned a large body of Spaniards formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, which gave us reason to imagine they had got some information of our design, and intended to annoy us with their musquetry and grape from the retired flank of that bastion, where they had still two cannon placed: but upon the explosion of some shells that fell among them, they went off. We took immediate advantage of this, and by the signal of a general discharge of

[41*] Accompanying the map shown on p. 95, is the following:
"Notice:
"Although yellow is generally used to designate works projected, it has been necessary to employ it here in the stone buildings existing, for the lack of carmen. For lack of verdigris, emery has been employed in the wash for the seashores, rivers, etc.
"That part washed with Chinese ink represents the islands that have at present houses of wood, bamboo, and nipa. Those which are designated by lines without washing were burned during the siege.
"The squares or islands with houses are represented by dots. Those unwashed are of stone, which were also burned.
"The part washed in verditer shows the gardens and rice fields.
"In the delineation and washing of this plan, several defects are noted, which are to be excused as it was made at sea, under the necessary discomfort of the balancing of the boat, and lack of what was needful for its perfection. The explanation is sent separately, as there is no room on this sheet [*marco*]." Scale 200 Castilian varas to 4¼ cm. The size of the original MS. map is 59 x 48 cm.

our artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of a thick smoke that blew directly upon the town. Sixty volunteers of different corps, under Lieut. Russel of the 79th, led the way, supported by the grenadiers of that regiment: the engineers, with the pioneers, and other workmen, to clear and enlarge the breach, and make lodgments, in case the enemy should have been too strongly intrenched in the gorge of the bastion, followed: Col. Monson and Maj. More were at the head of two grand divisions of the 79th: the battalion of seamen advanced next, sustained by the other two divisions of the 79th: the company's troops closed the rear. They all mounted the breach with amazing spirit and rapidity. The few Spaniards upon the bastion dispersed so suddenly, that it was thought they depended upon their mines. Capt. Stevenson had orders to make a strict search to discover them; but our precautions were needless. We met with little resistance, except at the Royal gate, and from the gālleries of the lofty houses which surround the grand square. In the guard-house over the Royal gate one hundred of the Spaniards and Indians, who would not surrender, were put to the sword.[42] Three hundred more, according to the enemy's account, were drowned in attempting to escape over the river, which was very deep and rapid.[43] The Governor and principal

[42] The Marquis de Ayerbe says (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 60) that forty of these men were killed, among them being several wounded men, one of whom was the sargento-mayor, Martín de Goycoa (*sic*).

[43] Many of the inhabitants of Manila fled to the Pasig after the assault, and when attempting to swim across, were fired upon by the British, with horrible carnage. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 27, 28.

officers retired to the citadel, and were glad to surrender as prisoners at discretion, as that place was in no good posture of defence.[44] Capt. Dupont of the 79th, with one hundred men, took possession of it. The Marquis of Villa Mediana, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war on their paroles of honour; and to conciliate the affections of the natives, all the Indians who fell into our hands were dismissed in safety. Our joy, upon this fortunate event, was greatly clouded by the loss of Maj. More, who was transfixed with an arrow near the Royal gate,[45] and died immediately, universally lamented for his good qualities. Capt. Sleigh of the grenadiers, and some other good officers, were wounded. We had about thirty private men killed or wounded. In consequence of the terms dictated to the Spaniards, the port of Cavite and citadel, with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores, were surrendered to us. Capt. Champion, with 100 marines, and as many Seapoys, imbarked on board the Seahorse to take possession of it. The Spanish garrison of 300 men, on the approach of our people, mutinied against their officers, plundered some houses, and went off into the country with their arms.

As a small acknowledgment of the great services which the whole army had received from Capt.

[44] The captors imposed several contributions on the conquered. They seized a champan and its money and effects that was despatched without a passport by Fernando Calderón to the provinces for purposes of trade. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 70.

[45] At the assault of the royal gate, the enemy lost but four men, one of whom was a major, who received an arrow in the face. The commander of the regiment, Miguel Valdés and some men basely fled. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 60, 61.

Kempenfelt, the Admiral's Captain, I begged he would act at Cavite with a commission as governor for his Majesty, being well assured that no one could discharge that trust with more conduct and abilities.[46]

Spanish officers of note prisoners of war

Don Felix de Eguiluz, Lieutenant-General of Artillery.

The Marquis of Villa Mediana, Brigadier-General, and Colonel of the King's regiment.

Don Miguel Valdes, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Commandant of the second battalion of ditto.

Don Joseph de Riarte, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Governor of the Cavite.

Don Francisco Rodriguez, Serjeant-Major of ditto.

Don Manuel Fernandes Toribio, Commandant and Serjeant-Major of the citadel of St. Jago.

Don Christoval Ros, Serjeant-Major of Manila.

Don Thomas de Castro,[47] Chief Engineer, and Colonel of the King's regiment.

14 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 2 Adjutants, 1 Physician, 1 Surgeon, 11 Serjeants, 261 Rank and File.

Of the Marine, 4 Captains, 2 Ensigns.

Of the Artillery, 1 Captain-Commandant, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 1 Commissary.

[46] Published with the following appendices in *London Gazette*, 1763; *London Chronicle*, 1763, pp. 377-379; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763, pp. 171-176; *London Magazine*, 1763, pp. 214-219; *Dublin Magazine*, 1763, pp. 248-255; *Universal Magazine*, 1763, pp. 202-206; and vol. ii of *The Field of Mars*, 1781.

[47] A number of maps by this man exist in the archives of the Indies, at Seville.

Of the Irregular Pampangos, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign.

2 Adjutants of the Cavite.

2 Adjutants of the citadel of St. Jago.

4 Adjutants of the city of Manila.

1 Captain and Engineer of ditto.

Of the Cadet Company 5

The Governor-General's life-guard . . 8

Killed and Wounded of the British forces

79th reg. Killed: Maj. More, Capt. Strahan, Lieut. Fryar, 6 privates. Wounded: Capt. Sleigh of the grenadiers, Lieut[s] Hazlewood and Garnons, Ens. Hog, 45 pr.

Battalion of seamen. Killed: Capt. Peter Porter, lieutenant of the Norfolk, Mr. White, surgeon's mate of ditto, 7 pr. seamen, 5 marines. Wounded: Second-Lieut. Thomas Spearing, of the marines, of the Lenox, Mr. Neal, midshipman of ditto, one serjeant, 18 pr.

Company's troops. Drowned: Lieut. Hardwick, one serjeant, 2 pr. Wounded: one serjeant, 5 pr.

Artillery. Killed: one pr. Wounded: one serjeant, 3 pr.

Seapoys. Killed 8. Wounded 31.

Abstract

	K.	*W.*	*Tot.*
Officers	6	6	12
Serjeants . . .	1	3	4
Private	29	102	131
	36	111	147

Return of brass and iron ordnance, powder, shot, shells, &c. found in the town and citadel of Manila.

Brass ordnance, 342 serviceable, 8 unserviceable.
Iron ordnance, 108 serviceable, 15 unserviceable.
Brass mortars, 6 inch and beds . . . 2
Iron howitzers 7.
Carriages, 66 serviceable, 85 unserviceable.

Of the above, 4 brass guns and 7 swivels were spiked, and 8 wounded.

Shot, of all sizes, from 28 pounders to four ounces, 18,073.
Grape ditto 2411.
Double-headed 118.
Link 88.
Spiked 39.
Lead, one and a half pounders, 1000.
Shells, from 13 inch to 7 inch, 44.
Hand granadoes 248.
Gunpowder boxes 38, computed to contain 2280 lb.
Ditto matt bags 141, computed to contain 6345 lb.
Cartridges filled, 894 . . . 4989 lb.
Musquets, repairable 270, unserviceable 257.
Ditto barrels 360.

Spontoons 4; halberts 12; bayonets, very old, 200; spunges, with rammer-heads, unserviceable, 200; bamboo cartridges, of different sizes, 240.

Return of brass and iron ordnance, &c. found at Cavite.

Brass ordnance, 137 serviceable, 1 unserviceable.
Iron ditto, 68 serviceable, 24 unserviceable.
Iron howitzers and carriages, 11 serviceable.
Carriages, 96 serviceable, 41 unserviceable.

Shot, of all sizes, from 52 pounders to 3 pounders, 13,620.
Double-headed ditto 411.
Link ditto 347.
Grape ditto 987.
Shells, 13 and 8 inch, 18.
Powder-boxes 138, containing 7680 lb.
Cartridges 1221, containing 7904 lb.
Musquets, 280 serviceable, 12 unserviceable.
Bayonets 108, cutlasses 28.

ROJO'S JOURNAL

Journal of what occurred at the attack and defense of the city of Manila, the capital of Philipinas Islands, and of the archipelago of San Lazaro, from September 22 to October 5, 1762, the day on which it was taken by assault by Brigadier Guillermo Drapert, commander-in-chief of the British troops of the East Indias.

Before commencing this journal, it is fitting to give a brief description of the location of Manila, and of the destitute condition in which the enemy found its fortifications and defenses, in order that we may present a clear idea of the vigorous resistance that was made even to the last extremity.[48]

The city of Manila, according to the map of Father Murillo, is located in 14° 40′ of north latitude, and 158° 35′ east longitude, on a tongue of land which terminates in a point, and forming the figure of a jug or flagon, whose extremity or neck is formed by the above point itself and contains the royal fort of Santiago. At the west it is terminated by a large bay, at the north by the Pasig River, which bathes its walls. On the land side from south to east, it is

[48] See *Report* of the War Department for 1903 (Washington, 1903), iii, pp. 434-446: "Historical Sketch of the Walls of Manila."

defended by four flat bastions with their casemates, and right flanks covered with orillons, and with ditches, covered way, and glacis. Along the sea, the city is fortified by a long curtain with five little flat bastions, a reduct located at a great distance from the wall. The lines of defense have such disproportion from one another, that those bastions cannot be defended reciprocally. It is impossible, further, to prevent the approach by the curtain, because there is neither ditch nor terreplein. Then too, the parapets are only one foot wide, and the curtain six.

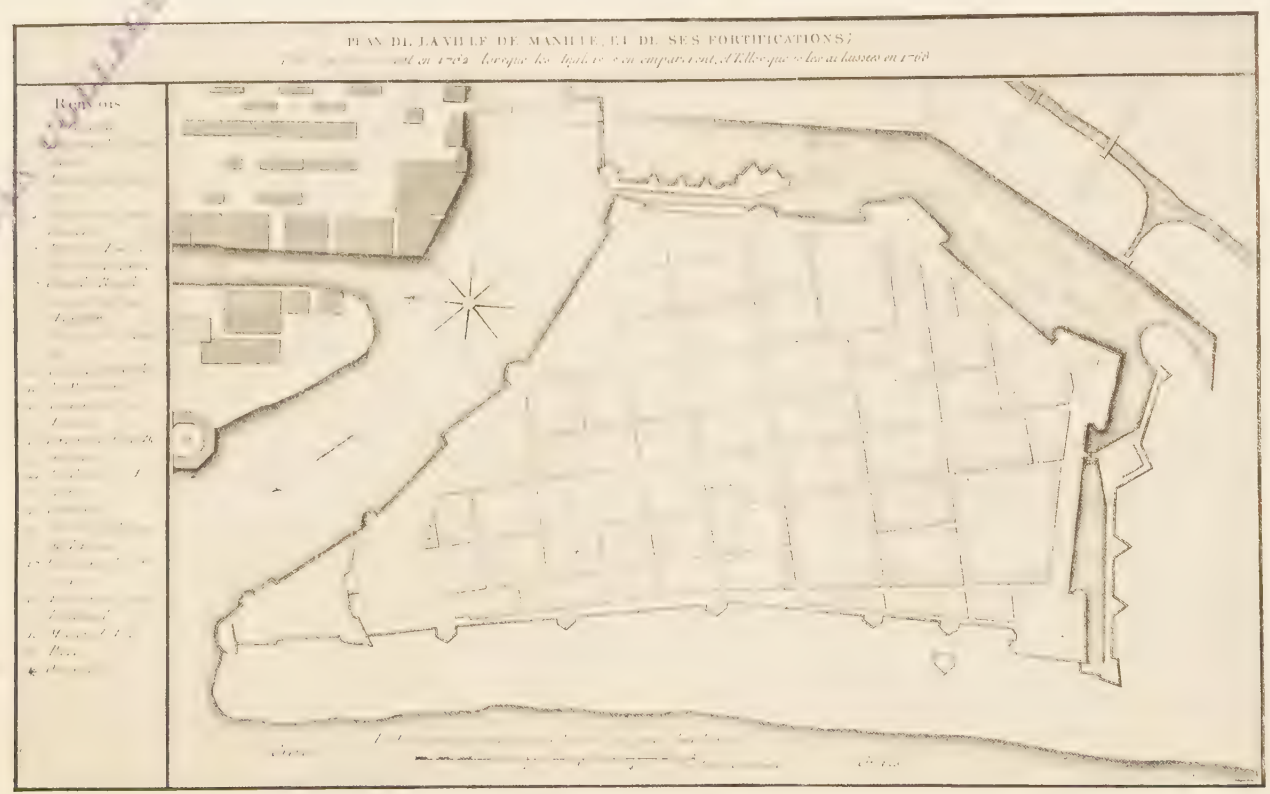
The curtain embracing the north side, bathed by the river, and which has a kind of curvature where it forms two reëntrant angles, is in the same condition of weakness as that of the sea, and is defended by two small bastions, which present the same defect noted above in their lines of defense.

From the bastion of San Gabriel to the gate of the Parián on the east of the city, is located a false screen or barbacan with its parapet and banquette. It is defective, for it is fallen, and has no gate for the retreat of the soldiers. The gate of the Parián is covered and defended by a small outer work in the form of a crown, and the royal gate by a ravelin so poorly placed and so poorly ordered, that it cannot defend the faces of the collateral bastions of San Andrés and of the foundry. The flanks of the two latter bastions are not any more capable of defending the faces of the ravelin. It must be added to the above that all those fortifications are very old and defective: the walls; the chemise, or revetement, three feet thick at the cordon, without counterfort; the escarp and counter-escarp fallen in part; and almost everything useless.

The covered way is very short and filled with thickets and bushes. Its parapet is in ruins and it has no stockade or palisade. It is so low, that it leaves the most essential parts of the bastions and curtains open clear to the foot. The embrasures are poorly placed. The gates on the sea side, are pierced through, and so old and so used up, that they cannot offer any resistance at all. The esplanades of the boulevards are so irregular and so rough, that it is impossible to maneuver with the artillery, which, besides, was mounted on ship's carriages so old that they could not be fired without danger of being dismounted.

The royal fort of Santiago is composed of two demi-bastions which dominate the city, and of a third one which points outward and prevents the approach of the enemy. It has two circular platforms, and several flanks intended for the same use. The curtains which unite these bastions have no terreplein, and the places from which to fire are distributed without any measure or proportion.

The garrison of this place consisted of the royal regiment, which has been composed, since its creation, of twenty companies of one hundred men apiece, under the command of captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. These companies have never been full, and have never amounted to fifteen hundred men. When the enemy arrived, this regiment was diminished to such an extent both by the mortality and desertion of some men, and by the different detachments which were told off for the galleons and for other posts, that there were not more than five hundred and fifty-six soldiers. There were only eighty cannoneers, and those even were native Indians, who were but little



Plan of the city of Manila and its fortifications, 1762, from Le Gentil's *Voyage* (Paris, 1779-1781)

[*From copy in Library of Wisconsin Historical Society*]

skilled in the management of artillery. At the arrival of the enemy, four militia companies were formed, of sixty men each, and called commercial troops.[49]

Manila never thought that it would be attacked by European nations. It supported the security in which it existed on the distance and remoteness of its position, in relation with Europe, and on the fact that such an example had never happened, although the two crowns had often been at war. In such confidence, they had been satisfied with putting the place in a state of defense against the Moros and neighboring nations who were little skilled in the art of war, the management of large artillery, muskets, and in the terrible artifice of throwing bombs, grenades, shells, etc. For in order that Manila might be defended against European nations, it would have needed four thousand well drilled men and all the corresponding equipment, things which this city has lacked even to the present.[50]

In this state of defense, on the twenty-second of September, 1762, at half-past five in the evening, a

[49] "The English knew as much of the weakness of that city as the Spaniards themselves, because of the voyages that they made there annually. There was (and the same was true in 1766 and 1767) the greatest freedom of going everywhere, of seeing and visiting everything. When I left that city, I could easily have given an idea of the plan of the fortifications of that place. The Spaniards were without distrust in this regard. The English knew besides that the garrison was very weak, and composed of Mexican soldiers, good enough indeed, but of little skill in the military art, as they had never fired a gun; and composed, in a word, of soldiers, sufficient to impose on Negroes, but incapable of opposing well disciplined troops, accustomed for some years to fighting in India." See Le Gentil, ii, p. 236.

[50] Cf. with this statement the letter by Baltasar Vela, S.J., *post*, pp. 288-295.

powerful fleet of thirteen vessels was seen. Although so unexpected a novelty caused the greatest surprise and the greatest astonishment, since there was no news in Manila of the war, and it was not supposed even that it had been declared, it was suspected nevertheless, that that was a hostile fleet. Consequently, his Excellency, Archbishop Roxo, governor and captain-general, gave on the spot the orders necessary and in accordance with the circumstances, to put the place in a state of defense, without forgetting to send to Cavite the help needed there.

While the preparations for the defense were being made, it was decided that it was necessary to write to the commander of the squadron, in order to tell him that he was to announce his nationality, for what purpose he had come, and the reason why he had entered the bay, without first having announced himself. The following night, an officer was assigned to bear this letter.[51] About eleven o'clock next morning, a boat which had been sent from the squadron, drew up to the fort. It bore two English officers, and ours who was returning, with a communication signed by Admiral Samuel Cornis, and by Brigadier-general Drapert, commander-in-chief of the land forces of his Britannic Majesty assigned for the present expedition. In their letter they announced that they were coming by order of their sovereign, for the conquest of the islands. Consequently, they urged that the city of Manila, its fortifications, and its territory, be surrendered to them. If that were not done, or indeed if any resistance were made (which they did not expect, unless the authors of the

[51] This was Lieutenant Fernando Arcaya. See *Sitio y conquista de Manila*, p. 36.

resistance were crazy), they had brought formidable forces to make themselves masters of all the land by force of arms, and they would immediately commence hostilities after hearing the answer.[52]

The captain-general answered them that the proposition which had just been made could not be accepted by subjects so faithful to their king, and that they were all resolved to sacrifice their lives for the defense of religion and the honor of the arms of their sovereign.[53]

As soon as they had received the answer, the entire squadron began to move about six o'clock on the evening of the twenty-third. They approached as near as possible to the south shore of the city, opposite the reduct called San Antonio Abad, which was used as a casemate, and which was one good half-league distant from the city. That same night, and until daybreak, the people busied themselves in taking all the gunpowder from that post. But it was necessary to abandon the said post with some effects and a goodly quantity of saltpetre, for the enemy landed at that same place, under support from the artillery of their ships. They took possession of the

[52] Ferrando (*Historia de los PP. dominicos*, Madrid, 1871, iv, p. 621), says that the first summons for surrender from Cornish and Draper demanded the immediate delivery of eight million escudos, the equivalent of four million pesos.

[53] "After consulting the royal assembly of these islands the governor replied: 'Gran Bretaña must know already that fear and threats are not the securest method nor the most fitting means to celebrate treaties with the noble servants of the Spanish sovereign. History has shown the world that Spaniards know how to die like good men for their God, for their king, and for their fatherland, but never to yield in the face of danger, much less to be intimidated by arrogant threats. Go, then, and bear this message to your chiefs; and tell them that we here are ready in any event to sell our lives dear.'" See Ferrando, iv, p. 621.

reduct as well as of the churches of Malate,[54] Nuestra Señora de Guia, and Santiago, of the suburbs and shops along the seashore, between the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan, which was eighty-five toises from the city, and the reduct. That same night two pickets of musketeers were detached from the garrison, commanded by ——, with orders to attack the enemy, to dislodge them if possible, and to prevent at the same time, the disembarking which was being continued along various places on the shore. The pickets suffered a very severe fire from the musketry of the enemy, who were stationed in the church of Santiago, and the neighboring houses, so that they retired in disorder.

On the twenty-fourth, about eight o'clock in the morning, they began to salute the enemy with artillery from the boulevards of the foundry and from San Andrés, but with little effect, because the enemy were behind the churches which protected them.[55]

At nine in the morning, a small galley entered the bay, coming from the Embocadero of San Bernardino, with the news that the galleon "Philippino"

[54] After the taking of the Augustinian convent at Malate, the archbishop issued a circular to all the religious orders, telling them "that it was now time for them to leave their cloisters and aid in the defense of the city," which they did gladly. Later, he ordered all the orders to furnish soldiers, and many of the religious entered the ranks. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 39, 50.

[55] "These were the two churches that Arandía desired to have demolished one year before his death, and for which the friars tried to excommunicate him. It is quite certain that these two citadels which were only eighty toises from the body of the city, hastened and furthered the capture of the city. By favor of these churches, the English raised and formed their batteries of cannons and mortars with the greatest ease. . . . I have seen the ruins of one of these churches, whose walls were yet high enough to make excellent retrenchments with very little labor." See Le Gentil, ii, pp. 239, 240.

had anchored in Palapa, on its return from Nueva España. The hostile squadron detached a swift frigate and four armed chaloupes, which gave chase to the galley. Having fired some shots at it, the galley made shore at Tambobo. At the same time the majority of the people on that galley, soldiers and passengers leaped into the water. Two chaloupes captured it. The captain, a subaltern, who was in charge of the galley, and some persons who had stayed aboard, were made prisoners of war. The chaloupes tried to tow the galley, but not being able to succeed in it, they took all that they could out of it,[56] except two six-pounder cannons which they were unable to move; and thereupon abandoned the galley and went back to their squadron. The captain-general had that galley set afire, after the two cannons had been taken out of it.

The following night it was resolved to make a vigorous sortie in order to discomfit the enemy who were fortifying themselves with all haste in the churches of which we have just spoken, namely, Nuestra Señora de Guia, Malate, and Santiago. Two four-pounders were detached, with the necessary artillerymen and the men needed to manage those cannons, fifty musketeers of the regular troops, some militiamen, and eight hundred Indian natives with their spears. In charge of this expedition was Monsieur Fayette (a Frenchman in the service of Manila). He attacked the enemy at their posts.[57]

[56] In this boat were captured money amounting to 30,000 pesos, and other objects of value. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 42.

[57] The Marquis de Ayerbe (*Sitio y conquista*) gives this force as consisting of two companies of fifty Spaniards, and more than two hundred Indians and mestizos with spears, muskets, and two eight-pounders. He was seconded by José del Busto.

The action lasted the greater part of the night, with a sharp fire on both sides; but Monsieur Fayette having recognized the invincible strength of the corps opposed to ours, and that fresh forces were continually coming to the enemy, ordered our men to retire a bit, and take position before the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan, where he kept his post all night, firing on the church of Santiago until nine o'clock of the morning of the twenty-fifth, when all the troops came back under protection of a new force which was sent them from the city.[58] From that time

[58] Of this sortie, Le Gentil says (ii, p. 243): "This sortie was only a kind of boast and bravado, for how could one flatter himself, with at the most sixty men (for I do not take any account of the eight hundred Indians and two small cannons) that he could give any trouble to six thousand men of good troops, withdrawn into two or three citadels, which it would really have been necessary to have besieged in order to try to dislodge them; for the walls of all these churches are made of cut stone, and are as thick as the walls of the royal observatory, namely, five or six feet thick, and are octagonal." The reënforcements sent to Fayette consisted of two Spanish companies and 1,500 Indians, commanded by Pedro Iriarte; and later one other company commanded by Fernando de Araya.

Opinions are divided as to the conduct of Fayette (Fallet), some accusing him of treason and others exonerating him. Ferrando (iv, p. 623) says, when speaking of his night sortie, that he retired only because of superior numbers, and adds: "Without reason and justice, the suspicion of treason against the French official (Sr. Fallet) who directed that sortie according to good principles of [military] science (which do not always triumph over tenfold the number of legions), would lie then on the conscience of the country." At the assault, however (*ut supra*, p. 628), Fayette, who was ordered to guard the breach in the wall, was with some reason accused of treason because of the lukewarmness which he displayed in its defense; and because he finally went over to the British lines, being received there gladly. In fact when the British were forming for the assault Fayette had ordered the Indian archers to retire from the breach under pretext of taking some refreshment and rest before the assault – which was well calculated to aggravate suspicions. The English, seeing this move, were quick to take advantage of it. Montero y Vidal says

until three o'clock in the afternoon, firing was suspended, because an officer of the hostile camp was received in the place, who was charged with a special mission.[59]

The bombardment continued without cessation. It did much damage to the buildings and killed some persons. The bombs that were picked up entire, were eighteen inches in diameter. They were kept to send back to the enemy in two mortars which were found in the royal magazines. That same night, some cannons loaded with grape were discharged on the enemy. To it was joined a fusillade which produced a good effect, for on the day of the twenty-sixth,[60] several corpses were to be seen from the place

(ii, p. 27) that he played the traitor at the assault by not offering any resistance. The Marquis de Ayerbe (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 44) calls him a Swiss.

[59] This was doubtless the officer with the second British summons for surrender. It was probably at the council held in consequence of this (see *ante*, note 38), that the fiscal, Leandro de Viana, was appointed to see after the supply of provisions for the defense of the city. He issued orders to the alcaldes-mayor of the various provinces, and to the procurators of the convents, from whose estates much rice and other effects were received. Viana advised the archbishop to leave all military matters to the sargentos-mayor of Manila and Cavite, but the latter refused to do so. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 17.

[60] On the twenty-sixth 3,000 Indian archers from the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacán, and Laguna; but neither these volunteers nor 4,000 others armed with quivers, who joined later were very greatly feared by the English because of their inexperience in the art of war and their primitive armor. A contemporary paper gives the following data: "Report of the men-at-arms whom it has been possible to collect inside and outside the place, without including the troops or militia: 600 men from the province of Bulacán, in Bancusay; 1,950 Pampangos, in San Fernando and the barracks of the accountancy; 150 Pampangos in the palace, in charge of Santa María; 133 men in the archiepiscopal house, 38 of them with muskets being Tagalogs; 110 men from Meycaoyan and Bocaue, in the house of Dorado; 153 men from Hagonoy;

scattered between the glacis and the hostile trenches. Some muskets that had been left by those killed were picked up. Since the enemy did not take them away, their bodies were buried in the bellies of hungry foxes and dogs which were very numerous there, and which devoured them in a short time in the sight of our men who manned the walls.

At eight in the morning, some Indian and mestizo spearmen presented themselves before the enemy's trenches, without that movement on their part having been preceded by any order. On approaching the advanced outposts who were occupying the sacristies of the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan, the bakery, and other neighboring houses, those Indians (although few in number), threw themselves on the enemy with such fury that they gained possession of the posts which have just been mentioned. They drove out the hostile musketeers, wounding and killing all that they met. But the English were promptly succored by a reënforcement of three hundred fusileers, who regained the posts that they had lost, and caused the Indians to retreat, to whom a signal was made from the bastion of San Andrés to leave a clear field so that the fire of our artillery could have free play. The artillery did, by this means, great harm to the enemy.

During the progress of this bloody action, an officer of the camp was perceived, who was carrying a white flag. He was followed and accompanied by a young man clad in black, and by a drummer beating the chamade. The fire of our artillery was suspended, but the fusillade of the enemy continued

150 men from Bulacán; 60 from Guiguinto; 72 from various villages; total 3,378." See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 18.

with unequaled obstinacy, against the Indian spearmen who always sustained that fire. Consequently, the Indians attacked the English officer, killed him, and gave seven mortal wounds to the young man who accompanied him. The drummer was also killed, and another person who appeared to be the servant of the officer. The Indians cut off the head of the latter, but not being longer able to endure the hostile fire they retired to the covered way of the royal gate, which was opened for them so that they could reenter. Following are the facts of the case. The nephew of the archbishop, Don Antonio Sierra de Tagle, having been made prisoner on board the little galley and conducted aboard the flagship, of which we have spoken above, the English commander-in-chief had offered in advance to grant him his liberty, and the English officer was conducting him for that purpose. That young man died of his wounds.[61]

During the whole of this day, the bombardment continued with fury, the enemy having increased their batteries of the church of Santiago by three mortars. After dinner an officer was despatched to the camp of the enemy to agree upon a truce, so that they could take away the body of their officer who had been killed. They did so, but many other dead bodies were left. On our side also, some who had been wounded were brought in.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth, a message was received from the English commander-in-chief, who urgently demanded the head of the English officer which the Indians had taken; as well as the

[61] He refused absolutely to accept the freedom offered him by Draper until he received an order from the archbishop to that effect. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 43.

author of that deed, with the threat that if it were not done, he would send the heads of all the prisoners whom they had in their power, and especially those of two officers, who had been made prisoners aboard the little galley. That demand was completely satisfied, and we were exculpated from a deed in which we had no part, and the blame for which was to be attributed to the lack of civilized customs among the Indians, and especially to the Sepoys, who, as has been said, did not cease to continue hostilities by their constant fire. Our captain-general (the archbishop), mounted on horseback, and went to see the hostile camp, in order to appease the trouble that that affair had aroused, and in fact it did not go farther.

The bombardment continued without cessation, and from half-past five in the evening until seven the flagship and another ship fired on the city, but with very slight result, for the balls which were fired horizontally were all buried on the shore, and those to which they gave a slight elevation, nearly all passed over the city, and were lost on the other side.

That same day, two mortars were fixed and placed in a battery on the rampart of the foundry, with which many bombs were thrown into the hostile camp and into the trenches.

On the twenty-ninth,[62] at six in the morning, the flagship and another vessel commenced to cannonade the bastion of the foundry, and made a desperate fire, which continued until eight o'clock with the same activity. From that time until ten it was moderated.

[62] The Marquis de Ayerbe (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 48) says that 500 Indians left the plaza de armas in command of the archbishop, ministers of the Audiencia, and some of the citizens, on the twenty-ninth, but that they were quickly put to flight by the English fire.

In the afternoon of that same day, two craft entered by way of the great strait (of Mariveles). Immediately two of the enemy's squadron were detached, which having joined the two which were coming, anchored with them near Manila. It was learned afterward that those craft were two English frigates, which had become separated from the body of the squadron in a great storm; as was also the case with the "Namur," which had lost its masts and had been forced to put in at Canton. Hence their total squadron numbered sixteen sail.

The thirtieth, the bombardment continued, and the vessels fired some shots from their cannons.[63] From the city four chaloupes were seen which had overturned; they were coming ashore with men and war supplies. The same accident happened to a champan which they had captured in the days preceding. This accident had happened through the violence of the west wind which had freshened. This was at four in the afternoon, and at six, a bomb-ketch made shore opposite the reduct of San Antonio Abad.

October first, the Indians of Passay reported that a raft had made the shore, which was built of large masts, small masts, and yards that had belonged to the bomb-ketch; that this raft had on it the moorings, and artillery of the above bomb-ketch. They

[63] September 30, the Spaniards received a reënforcement of 609 men from Bulacán, as follows: from Paombong, 82 men, under command of Sebastian Lorenzo; Bocaue, 149 men, under command of Augusto Percumenla; Calumpit, 16 men, under Juan Panganiban; Malolos, 45 men, under Anastasio Bautista; Obando, 53 men, under Pedro C. Salvador; Angat, 79 men, under Nicolás de Aquino; San José, 30 men, under Nicolás Matías; Polo, 75 men, under Juan Roque; and Bigáa, 80 men, under Domingo Francisco. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 21. On the first and second of October they were furnished with arrows, spears, and other weapons (*Sitio y conquista*, pp. 51, 52).

reported that they had seen many people drowned on the beach. Upon this report, the native cavalry was detached in order that they might seize those effects. But when they arrived at the place, they were repulsed by the enemy's musketry, who had hastened from their general quarter of Malate and from the powder factory in order to protect the raft and its load.

At daybreak of the second, the enemy placed in operation a battery of eight twenty-four pounders against the flanked angle of the bastion of the foundry, and against the face which looked upon their camp. That battery was so well served, that at ten in the morning, all the parapet of that part was on the ground. At the same time, they directed their mortars (nine in number and of various calibers) toward the bastion itself. The flagship and another vessel bombarded the same bastion on the side looking seaward, with such fury that along the shore and beyond the walls on the landside, more than four thousand twenty-four pound balls were collected. But what molested us still more was the musketry of the enemy, which was placed in the tower and church of Santiago, which they had arranged for that purpose by opening in all the roofs several windows so that they dominated us. They saw also all that occurred in the city, and although the greatest efforts and the most powerful attempts were made to batter down the church with our artillery, we were unable to do it, or to dislodge the enemy from that post. But it is incredible that our bastion being open without a parapet on either side, it is incredible, I say, that of the various officers who sustained it, and of all the musketeers and artillerymen who were

obliged to fire in barbet, there were killed only two artillerymen, two musketeers, and three pioneers, in spite of a desperate fire which all those men suffered from five different parts. It is true that more than twenty wounded and maimed were taken out, among whom was a lieutenant belonging to the artillery who lost his right arm. The greater part of the officers were wounded and bruised from blows with stones, and had contusions, but that did not prevent them from sticking to their posts. The vessels ceased their fire at orisons. That of the camp continued all night with the same activity, so that the artillery of our bastion having been dismounted, they were obliged to abandon that post, leaving there only a few sentinels without shelter.

At the same time, various assemblies and parties of Indians from the provinces were formed to the number of five thousand more or less. But only two thousand five hundred Pampangos were found who were deemed capable of undertaking anything. Consequently, it was resolved to make a sortie.[64] It was to be undertaken at the close of the night of the third,

[64] At dawn of the third of October, a sally was made by 2,000 Pampangos arranged in three columns: the first in command of Francisco Rodríguez and their valiant leader Manalastas; the second in command of Santiago Orendaín; and the third, in command of the volunteers Esclava and Busto. The first reached the church of Santiago, which they found empty, but were driven thence by the British. The second bore down upon Ermita, where they were at first successful, but were speedily driven back by the British, with a loss of 200 men, Orendaín fleeing at the beginning of the engagement, which is regarded as proof of his treachery. The third column, which was to have attacked by the sea side, grew faint hearted and retreated. Many natives, alarmed because the British had hanged more than sixty Pampangos whom they had captured, returned to their homes. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 22, 23.

as follows. The Pampangos were to form in three columns. The first column was to attack the church of Santiago on the side where the enemies had their batteries of cannons and mortars. The second was to hurl itself on Malate and Ermita where the general quarters were located. The third was to invest by the sea side. Those three columns were to be supported by two pickets of musketeers, commanded by the sargento-mayor of Cavite, two captains, and four subalterns. At the hour set, our Pampangos and pickets sallied out in the best order, but scarce had they set foot outside the Parián gate, when they began to utter loud cries in disorder and make a great racket. That allowed the camp of the enemy to get into readiness to receive them. In spite of that, the Pampango troops entered their camp, killed the advance sentinels, and caused great damage to the enemy. Those Indians themselves suffered no less from the hostile musketry. They would have suffered still more if confusion had not reigned there; for the enemy, in their fear of killing one another, did not dare to play some cannon loaded with grape, which they had prepared and posted in different places. The pickets seeing this disorder, halted before the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan, whence they fired against the church of Santiago, thus protecting the retreat of the Pampangos, which took place at nine in the morning. The action was bloody on both sides. One soldier of the pickets was killed and eight wounded. The mortality among the Pampangos was heavy. It was learned afterward that the enemy having lost some of their officers, who were killed in the action, had had more than sixty Pampangos, whom they had captured and taken

prisoners, hanged in their camp. That action so intimidated and disconcerted all the other Pampangos that they all retired to their respective villages, so that there remained very few of them who would return to Manila.

That action did not at all interrupt the fire of the battery against the bastion of the foundry, so that when daybreak came, it could be seen that an eighteen-pounder cannon had fallen into the ditch, and it could not be recovered. The greater part of the face and the terreplein of the same bastion had also fallen, and their ruins had dried up the ditch. But what caused the greatest anxiety was that the engineer recognized that the enemy was busy making a new battery for the purpose of dismounting the artillery, the collateral flanks of the bastions San Andrés and San Eugenio, which flanked and defended the entrance to the covered way and the approach to the breach. In fact, that battery began to play at noon with so great activity, that it dismounted the cannons of the flanks in two hours time, overthrew the parapets, and killed some fusileers and pioneers. Twice were other parapets made with beams and bags of sand, but each time they were in ruins the moment after. Consequently, the men were obliged to retire from those bastions. The bastion of San Andrés did not suffer so much, for it was stronger. However, it had one cannon of the caliber of eighteen, which was placed in the elevated flank, dismounted. We had no other hope than in another cannon of equal caliber, of the two which were in this flank, for while we still had two cannons of the caliber of four in the low place, the latter could be of but little service.

Our captain-general, having been informed of everything, called the council of war in the afternoon of the same day; and that council lasted until the night. The master-of-camp, the sargento-mayor of the city, the sargento-mayor of Cavite, the sargento-mayor of the royal regiment, those of the militia, and the deputies of the merchant body, of the city, and of the various ecclesiastic orders were present, all being introduced by the ordinary engineer. The latter, having reported the fatal condition of the place, advice or opinions were mutually given. All, with the exception of the military men, were of the opinion to continue the defense, by making use of the ordinary means for the repairs necessary to the bastions, and by making ditches, etc. The military men thought that we ought to capitulate.[65] But having asked them whether they thought that we ought to capitulate immediately, they answered no, and that they said it only because the breach had commenced, and that it would be practicable next day, and it would be difficult to make the ditches and repairs necessary to prevent the city from being taken by assault.

Having been informed of everything, our captain-general gave the orders and made all the preparations necessary for beginning the work, and for making the proposed ditches. He watched all the operations and all the movements of the enemy.[66]

[65] The military men who were mainly Americans, counseled surrender, at the council held by the archbishop on the third of October, but their advice was overruled by the marquis de Monte-Castro, the magistrates, the religious, and the merchants. This council, as is evident from the record by Orendaín, the government secretary, was called on account of a threatening letter from the British. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 23-25, and note; and *post*, pp. 206-208.

[66] Some religious were ordered by the marquis de Monte-

At dawn on the fourth, the enemy began to fire shells into the city. They set fire to several of the buildings, and together with the shot from the mortar batteries and the fusillade from the tower of Santiago, which resembled a shower of hail, threw the garrison and the inhabitants into great consternation, which gradually increased.[67] All the day of the fourth, and the following night, were passed in this perplexity, no means being found by which to escape the danger. Although orders for the ditches and the defense of the breach were renewed, in order to prevent the assault, and activity was redoubled and the necessary efforts made, yet there was no means of executing any of those things, because of the continual and deadly fire of the enemy.

Consequently, there was no means of getting the bearers of fascines to work. Finally, at six o'clock in the morning of the fifth, the enemy's troops left their posts in three columns. The first directed its course toward the breach; the second toward the royal gate; and the third marched along the highway surrounding the covered way, toward the east and bordering on the plaza de armas.

The few soldiers left us occupied the gorge of the bastion of the foundry, the royal gate, the flank of the bastion of San Andrés, and the curtain joining them. The enemy were supported by their batteries

Castro to lead some Indians to the foundry to make tools for making the ditch. But this was not done, in spite of Father Pascual Fernández, of the Society of Jesus, teacher of mathematics, and the other religious, having worked with the greatest zeal. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 56.

[67] The governor continued to give various orders which were not obeyed, and the master-of-camp limited himself to ordering the religious to prevent the Indians from mounting the bastions, on this account great confusion reigning in the city.

and by the fusileers of the tower of Santiago, who poured in a steady fire. Consequently, it was impossible for ours to occupy the breach in order to defend the approach. The approaching columns discharged two rounds with their muskets, by which they swept the two collateral bastions, the curtain, and all the posts which could oppose them. Finally, all together, they mounted the breach, and seized the bastion of the foundry. At the same instant they attacked the royal gate, which they battered down with axes and iron levers.

After some slight opposition on our side, some officers who were there, not being able to defend those posts, the enemy fired from there on the other posts which they seized also following the cordon, and went to present themselves before the fort whither the governor and captain-general had retired.

At that moment, the militia, the regular troops, and the Indians who were in that fort, threw themselves in disorder from the top of the walls. Many threw themselves into the river, where a number of them were drowned. Consequently, when the captain-general reached the fort, he found only the castellan, Monsieur Pignon, his second, and one artilleryman. The few troops that he found were in confusion and were throwing themselves from the wall. The enemy's column which entered by the royal gate directed its course toward the plaza de armas and seized the palace.[68] That which marched by the highway, took the small fort which defends

[68] As the British troops debouched into the square of the palace, their column could have been annihilated by the batteries of the fort of Santiago, but the archbishop did not permit them to fire, as he feared the vengeance of the English general. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 28.

the bridge across the Pasig River. Thence it went to the city, entering by the Parián gate.[69]

The fort flung a white flag, and terms of capitulation were proposed, which the British officers refused to accept. At the same moment the colonel pressed the fort to surrender, else indeed hostilities would be continued and arms used. The captain-general, pressed and greatly embarrassed, resolved to go in person with the colonel, under the good faith of the guaranty of his person in order to treat concerning the capitulation with the general. In fact, they discussed the matter at length in the palace. The archbishop desired to have military honors accorded, insisting on this point several times but not being able to obtain it. He was compelled to give an order for the surrender of the fort, and all the men were made prisoners of war with the exception of the captain-general. The military were granted the honor of keeping their swords and the repeated demands of the captain-general could obtain nothing else.[70]

The city was given over to pillage, which was cruel and lasted for forty hours, without excepting the churches, the archbishopric, and a part of the palace. Although the captain-general objected at the end of twenty-four hours, the pillage really continued, in spite of the orders of the British general for it to cease. He himself killed with his own hand a soldier whom he found transgressing his orders, and had three hanged.[71]

[69] At the Parián gate, the resistance was but slight. Seventeen of the British were killed there, and but five of the Spaniards. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 61.

[70] The archbishop promised the conquerors 1,000,000 pesos for the expenses of their squadron if they were exempted from the sack.

[71] Ferrando (iv, p. 631) says: "Finally the killing ceased, but

In the doings of that day, the sargento-mayor of the royal regiment, two captains, two subalterns, about fifty soldiers of the regular troops, and thirty of the commerce militia were killed on our side, and many were wounded.

In the other doings, and especially in the last sortie, more than three hundred Indians were killed, and more than four hundred wounded.

The number killed on the side of the enemy we have not been able to learn exactly. It has been learned only by some circumstances, that in the review made two days after the taking of the place, the enemy had lost more than a thousand men, among whom were sixteen officers. Among those officers, was a sargento-mayor of Drapert's regiment, who was killed on the day of the assault by an arrow; and the commandant of the regiment of Chamal, who was killed by a musket ball, as he was watching with a glass the approach from the tower of Santiago. The vice-admiral[72] was drowned when coming ashore in a small boat which overturned; and the same accident caused the death of some sailors and soldiers.

the sack continued contrary to the previous agreement, without the lewdness of the soldiers pardoning either the honor of the married women or the virginity of girls, who were everywhere the victims of their brutal appetites. . . . According to old histories, many young women, who had taken refuge during the danger, at the beaterio of Santa Rosa of this city of Manila, were violated. The venerable mother Paula, foundress and directress of said institution, asserted that not one of the girl boarders and collegiates of the house had been violated by the brutal soldiery."

"There also entered the plaza de armas on this day [October 5], five hundred marines, dressed, armed, and uniformed like the regular English troops, who committed all kinds of excesses in the convents, churches, and houses." A MS. by Alfonso Rodriguez de Ovalle entitled *Sitio de Manila* (written in 1763), cited by Marquis de Ayerbe, p. 60.

[72] Evidently Lieutenant Hardwick.

The forces of the enemy consisted of fifteen hundred European soldiers, chosen from Drapert's regiment, and from the battalion of the volunteers of Chamal; two artillery companies of sixty men apiece; three thousand European sailors, fusileers and well disciplined; eight hundred Sepoys, with muskets, forming two battalions, and fourteen hundred of the same troops destined for the fascines. That formed an army of six thousand eight hundred and thirty men.

The two mortar batteries, which, as has been said, were of different caliber, threw more than five thousand bombs into the city.[73] The land batteries and

[73] The following account of the assault is taken from Le Gentil, ii, pp. 252-255:

"Archbishop Roxo was a capable man for the good management of finances. He was clever in business and very zealous for the service of the king. But he did not understand anything of military affairs. Consequently, the factions which were formed, and which he was unable to resist, were the cause of his not capitulating in time, and those factions caused the misfortune of Manila.

"It would be difficult to form an idea of the embarrassment in which this prelate found himself, and of the consternation of the entire village. I have been assured that the name of Arandia, that man whom the friars had, two years previously, dubbed a heretic, and toward whom they had been so hostile that no one could be found who would take charge of his funeral oration, was heard pronounced several times. 'If Arandia were living,' said one, several times during the siege. It was perceived then that they lacked a man to direct. Several times the archbishop wished to capitulate, but he was prevented. Don Andres Roxo has assured me very emphatically, that had the archbishop been alone, and had he not been besieged on one side by the auditors, and on the other by the friars, he would not have waited until the English had mounted to the assault. It was in fine a notorious fact at the time of my stay in Manila, that the fiscal and especially an auditor, who has died since my departure, were the cause of Roxo not capitulating in time. Many councils, indeed, were held, but nothing was determined there. These councils, besides, were very illy made up; for, if the military men were excused from it, what good could come from appealing from the auditors there,

those of the ships fired more than twenty thousand shots from twenty-four pounders, and ruined the city in many places. The enemy sent about twenty-five

who knew nothing in this line, and from fanatic friars. The latter made use of Mother Paula, whom they pretended had had visions of St. Francis. They carried the news of those visions to the archbishop, and did what they could to support him in the flattering idea that St. Francis would work a miracle in favor of the inhabitants of Manila and that one would see him on the breach, with his cord in his hand, defending and sustaining the assault, as he had formerly repulsed the Chinese, who, so they said at Manila, had risen against this city to the number of more than twenty thousand.

"While the English were pressing Manila, the auditors were besieging the archbishop, and prevented any one from approaching to speak with him. Monsieur Fayette, more experienced than the other officers, seeing the evident danger which was threatening the city, tried, in spite of the difficulty in penetrating thither, into the presence of the archbishop, to leap the barrier. Auditor —— was performing constant guard duty in the anti-chamber. It was impossible for Monsieur Fayette to get nearer. He told the auditor what brought him. The latter sent him back very roughly, giving him to understand that he was an ignoramus in the trade; that the governor was better informed than he; that the ministers of the king, who were there to assist the governor by their counsels, knew all that was to be done. 'Do you take us,' said he in wrath, 'do you take us for traitors to our fatherland? Do we not know our obligations?'

"Monsieur Fayette retired. That same afternoon, the archbishop desired to go in person to view the breach (a fact that has been attested to me) but Auditor —— and the fiscal prevented him. They did not wish, they said, to have his most illustrious Lordship expose himself to so evident a danger. It is true that, since they were near his person in order to assist him with their counsels, it would have been necessary for the two auditors to have accompanied him in his visit.

"Don Andres Roxo has shown me a copy of one of the letters written to the king by this prelate, when he was near death, in which he gave his Majesty an account of his conduct, and asked his pardon for the errors which he had committed. When speaking of the matter that we have just seen concerning the visit to the breach, he says 'Would to God that a cannon ball had then shortened my days.'

"Next morning about six o'clock, the same officer (Monsieur Fayette) returned to make a second attempt. He succeeded

shells, which set fires in five different places; and if all diligence had not been employed, the city, or the greater part of it, would have been in ashes. Manila, December 23, 1762.

finally in getting quite into the apartment of the archbishop, but it was after he had deceived and thrown the watchful auditor off his guard. It was then too late to deliberate. A messenger announced that the enemy were at the breach, in possession of the bastion of the foundry.

"The English were divided into three columns. The one which was to mount the breach was preceded by thirty volunteers and pioneers who were the first to mount, but who probably well knew that they would find but very little or no opposition.

"The breach was scarcely practicable, and these volunteers had some difficulty in mounting. Arrived at the bastion, they saw no one to dispute the ground with them. They cried out to their comrades that they had found no obstacles, and in fact, the few people that had been stationed on the bastion had become affrighted, and had fled in both directions along the wall. Some even threw themselves down from the walls. The column seeing that these volunteers met no resistance on the bastion, bravely mounted the breach, and took the bastion. The volunteers went to the royal gate, where they found a feeble guard, who, frightened, had taken refuge under an altar of the Virgin which was in the guardhouse, and before which all the guard were wont to recite the rosary night and morning. The guard thought that they were safe from all danger, but the English, having few scruples, massacred them. They opened the gates to the rest of the troops, who were only Sepoys, who composed the second column. Thus was Manila taken by assault."

ANDA AND THE ENGLISH INVASION, 1762-1764

[The following is synopsized and translated from a series of documents bound together under the following modern title: "Documents for the history of the invasion and war with the English in Filipinas, 1762-1764; faithfully copied from the originals in 1765."]

[Anda y Salazar,[74] in a letter written from Bulacan, October 8, 1762, to the archbishop, Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieyra, states that in accordance with his appointment by the latter as visitor-general of the provinces, he appoints the necessary persons for the performance of that duty, forms a court, and goes to Bulacan on October 4. There on presenting his credentials he is recognized by the alcalde-mayor José Pasarin. Manila is taken by assault by the British next day, and the president and auditors of the Audiencia remaining in the city are taken prisoners. Citing laws clxxx and lviii of título

[74] Anda's baptismal record which is published by Montero y Vidal, ii, appendix, pp. 606, 607, shows that he was baptized in the church of San Esteban Protomártir in the village of Subijana de Alava on October 23, 1709. His burial (*ut supra*, p. 608) is noted in the burial book of the Manila cathedral under date of October 31, 1776. He was buried by the famous archbishop, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, who was, like Anda, a fighter. See also VOL. XVII, pp. 297, 298.

xv, book ii, of the *Recopilación*[75] Anda declares that, by virtue thereof, the Audiencia is continued in him alone; and since the archbishop (who has been acting as governor and president of the Audiencia) is also a prisoner, the duties of the office of governor and captain-general devolve upon him. He says:]

Having been aware of the respect and love with which the natives venerate their parish priests, ministers, and missionaries, and that these, by means of their greater knowledge of the nature, customs, and civilization of the natives, can maintain them and incite them to the defense of the country, against the English enemy: I have considered it fitting and necessary to send the present to your Excellency, by which, in the name of Don Carlos III, the Catholic king of España, I request and ask you, and in my own name, petition you, by means of the curas, rectors, and other members of the secular clergy of your diocese, to be pleased to represent to, persuade, and inform the natives of their obligation to maintain themselves as vassals of their natural king and sovereign, and to conserve this country under his dominion and fidelity, and to defend it from the English enemy, so that the latter may not make them their tributaries. For notwithstanding the loss of Manila, if the natives remain firm in their loyalty to their sovereign, the islands can be conserved and defended. In order to obtain this, I am ready to follow and conform to the useful orders of your Excellency

[75] Law clxxx is as follows: "In some of our Audiencias of the Indias, it has happened, and it might happen, that the auditors of it may be absent, and only one auditor remain. We declare in such case that the Audiencia is to be conserved and continued with only one auditor." [Felipe III, San Lorenzo, August 14, 1620.] For law lviii, see VOL. XVII, pp. 313, 314.

with the understanding of your flock, and to those of the curas of the doctrine, with the understanding of their parishioners. I hope that the curas will, through their zeal, instruct, animate, and encourage the natives thoroughly in the matters that may be necessary at this critical time; and that your Excellency, immediately on receiving this despatch, may be pleased not to neglect this useful measure (so that it may so appear for all time) and aid me by having the missionary ministers, each one by his particular despatch, answer immediately, for the profit and advantage that the incidents and events may require, and return the despatches to me, so that I may file them with the papers of their kind.[76]

[76] All the religious orders but the Jesuits proved loyal and assisted with money and actual force. The latter maintained most cordial relations with the enemy. In the summary exposition which was sent to the pope regarding this matter, it was shown that they preached against the government, and that their provincial had illicit relations with Draper during the occupancy of Manila. This was partly the reason for their expulsion by Cárlos III. In the archives at Simancas, legajo 288 of "Gracia y justicia," exists a document charging the Jesuits as traitors for their action during the war with the British. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 36, and note. See the letter, *post*, in which the Jesuits charge the archbishop with direct treason. The following items from British magazines are instructive and may partly explain the Jesuit letter.

"Letters from France advise that his Catholic Majesty will be no great loser by our taking the Manilas, as the whole of that trade was in the hands of the Jesuits. A proposal was made to the late King of Spain, to put a stop to that trade, it being a loss to both his Majesty and the Spanish nation; but the Jesuit had art enough to prevent its taking effect." (*Scots Magazine*, 1763, p. 235.)

"*London, Nov.* 3. They write from Cadiz, that the treasure belonging to the Jesuits at Manilla, lately confiscated by orders of the court, was said to amount to near 20,000,000 pieces of eight, exclusive of jewels, diamonds, and church-plate." (*Scots Magazine*, 1763, p. 605.)

"*London, Sept.* 24. According to letters from Madrid, three

[The archbishop answers this letter under date of Manila, October 10, as follows:]

In your Lordship's commission granted with the preëminence that is fitting, you will proceed according to your prudence and to present circumstances. The first point is the Catholic faith. 2d, loyalty to the king, our sovereign. 3d, to faithfully observe the treaties which are now being drawn up with the British chiefs, for good faith is the rule of all good operations. Your Lordship had my commission before the surrender. The just procedure of your Lordship must be moderated to this event and to this time. . . .[77]

[To the above, Anda replies on October 20.[78] Citing the contents of the archbishop's letter, he says that his actions are to be governed by laws lvii[79] and lviii of título xv, of book ii of the *Recopilación* and since the governor is at present not able to govern,

eighths of the treasure drawn from the commerce carried on between Manilla and Acapulco, had centred among the Spanish Jesuits, amounting annually to eight millions of dollars." (*Scots Magazine*, 1767, p. 494.)

[77] This letter is published by Malo de Luque, v, pp. 268, 269; Mas, i, p. 142; and Montero y Vidal, ii, appendix, p. 579.

[78] Published in Malo de Luque, v, pp. 269-276; Mas, i, pp. 142-146; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 580-583.

[79] Law lvii is as follows: "We order that in the absence of viceroy or president, so that he cannot govern, our royal Audiencias succeed to the government, and that the government reside in them, as it could in the viceroy or president when they performed those duties. The senior auditor shall be president, and he alone shall make and enact all the measures belonging to and annexed to the president. And if the president should be captain-general, the senior auditor shall also exercise that office until his successor is appointed by us, or until one is sent who shall have powers to act as such by our orders, unless the opposite or contrary is ordered in some Audiencias by the laws of this book." [Felipe II, Toledo, May 25, 1596, ordinance 43, concerning Audiencias; Felipe IV, Madrid, April 8, 1629; and in this *Recopilación*.]

upon him devolves the duty of preserving peace and administering justice. "In this province [Bulacan], I have obtained not only complete quiet, but all its inhabitants are inclined not to admit any other religion than that which they profess, or other dominion than that of our Catholic monarch." So long as certain thorns in his path do not contradict the principal object of loyalty to the king and religion, Anda winks at them, and does not inflict punishment. He continues:]

I said and I repeat that the presidency and government fell to the royal Audiencia; and I add that the latter is conserved and continued in me, that I am the sole and only minister, that by my absence from that capital because of the commissions confided to me at a convenient time, I remained free from the enemies, and as such capable and proper by law, so that in my person is met the prescriptions of law clxxx of the above-cited book and título, since my associates are lacking and have been imprisoned with your Excellency in the fatal loss of that capital.

[By a law which he has made in his capacity as Audiencia and governor, on October 5,[80] he has en-

[80] This testimony, which is given by Mas, i, pp. 139-141, and Montero y Vidal, *Historia*, ii, appendix, pp. 577-579, notes that Anda was appointed by the archbishop, in his capacity of governor and captain-general, as lieutenant governor and captain-general of the islands, in due form, sealed with the arms of the archbishop and countersigned by Ramón Orendaín, chief government secretary, on October 1. On the same day he was appointed visitor general, by the royal Audiencia, of all the provinces of the islands, the royal provision therefor being despatched with the royal seal registered by Andres José Rojo, lieutenant of the grand chancellor, and countersigned by Juan de Monroy, assembly secretary. He was received in his official capacity in the province of Bulacan, and when, on the fifth, news was received of the assault and capture of Manila by the British, upon him devolved the duties of the royal Audiencia, and of the

joyed and enjoys, and will continue to enjoy the titles of governor, captain-general, president, and Audiencia, which fell to him in view of said laws. But he will use them only until archbishop and Audiencia are at liberty when he will yield them all, and exercise only his commission. The first two points in the archbishop's letter could have been excused, as it might have been taken for granted that Anda would observe them. The third needs explanation, for he cannot see that he is bound by the treaty that is being made with the British, and he will defend the rest of the provinces with his life. He continues:]

Neither before nor since the surrender of that city, did your Excellency, or anyone else have, or do you possess any power to surrender to the enemy the domain of these islands – before, because you were not sovereign of them, but only administrator; since, because not even this weak title was left to you, nor the power of liberty. And since the enemy entered by assault and at discretion, they only have a right to what the sack gave them in itself in the territory gained by them. The rest is absurdly and ill surrendered, and contrary to all rights of war. Consequently, if this letter reaches you in time, I summon your Excellency, in his Majesty's name, once and a thousand times, not to go to the pass of signing the surrender of these islands. And should it be already signed, I protest to your Excellency the wrong and that I shall in no wise obey so unjust and absurd a treaty. If the British wish to dominate this country, their chiefs know that it must be by first gaining it

governor and captain-general. The treasurer Nicolás de Echauz Beaumont, was ordered to move the moneys in his charge into the interior. Accordingly he went to the province of Laguna, but for greater security was ordered to go later to Pampanga.

with their arms according to right of war, but to surrender it through the panic of terror, like children, would be a vileness and treason, which I shall not permit so long as I am governor, and which does not belong to my loyalty. Your Excellency also tells me that I received your commission before the surrender, and that my just proceedings must be regulated to this event and to this time. I answer also by asking your Excellency to please explain a trifle more clearly in regard to the security that I alone shall have by my just proceedings, which cannot be one jot turned aside from loyalty to the king (whom may God preserve) and besides from these provinces, without giving or allowing terms for their foreign execution to the slightest degree.[81] Your Excellency gave me your commission before the surrender of that city, in order that I might maintain these provinces under the dominion of his Majesty after the fatal event which was feared.[82] In any other way the commission would have been superfluous. And is it possible that without regarding consequences, your Excellency tells me to faithfully observe the treaties with the British leaders, and that I regulate my just procedures to the result and the time of the surrender of that city? If your Excellency, although a vassal of the king of España, his minister, and so honored, counsels me after this manner, what is allowed to the British leaders?[83] Your Excellency

[81] Montero y Vidal's version reads "loyalty to the king, . . . and defense of these provinces, without giving or allowing terms for their foreign subjection to the slightest degree" – a better reading.

[82] Anda left Manila with but 500 pesos. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 80.

[83] Montero y Vidal reads "what is not allowed."

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knows that when I left that capital, you did not give me the royal seal, without which no Audiencia provision can be despatched. I beg your Excellency to please have it sent to me, or to have the lieutenant of the grand Chancillor come to exercise his employment, if he is not detained in that capital.

[The archbishop answers Anda's letter on the twenty-third, ordering him to present himself before him by the twenty-fifth, without fail. He sends the translation of a passport given by the English, which he attests (while keeping the original), so that Anda may come safely.][84]

[Anda, however, does not trust in the passport, as shown by his letter of October 25, in answer to that of the archbishop. In this letter he protests that he is a faithful vassal of the king, and since he is not a vassal of the archbishop, and since he knows nothing of the terms of the treaty that has been made with the British, he refuses to go to Manila. Such conduct would make him run the risk of being called a traitor to his king. He is greatly exasperated because the archbishop has not sent the original passport, but instead a translation attested by himself as a true copy, while he retains the original in his possession in order that it may run no risks. This copy means nothing, as the British soldiers will pay no attention to a passport signed by the archbishop and purporting to

[84] This passport reads as follows: "This is to certify that Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, minister of his Catholic Majesty, has my permission to come with all safety to this city. This order is directed to each one to whom it pertains, so that he may allow him to pass, in accordance with its contents. Guillermo Drapert, commander-in-chief. General barracks, October 25, 1762. I retain the original in my possession, in order that it may run no risk [of being destroyed or lost]. Your Lordship may come without the slightest fear. The Archbishop."

come from their own commander, whereas they would recognize and obey the signature of the latter. Besides, the date of the passport is the twenty-fifth,[85] and that could not be. In the passport also, the archbishop acts as the clerk of the British, and in his letter as a minister of the Catholic monarch, but the two capacities are not conformable. Lastly, Anda cannot leave the natives secretly (as the archbishop has suggested), as they love him so that they will not allow him out of their sight, and he must not leave them or risk his person.]

[In his reply to Anda, on the twenty-sixth of October,[86] the archbishop complains bitterly of the former's lack of courtesy in his letter of the twenty-fifth, in omitting his name and title as captain and governor-general. His letter, the archbishop declares, is full of nonsense. It is a specious pretext to boast of being a good vassal, but it is not a mark of loyalty to seize authority belonging to another, by which he has incited trouble among both Spaniards and natives. On account of his absurd action, the British leaders have proscribed him and placed a price on his head, as a disturber of the provinces. The archbishop had sent the translated copy of the passport for Anda's own safety, but he sends the original now, and thus places all the risk on Anda's own shoulders. Although he is obliged for the present to endure these insults thrust upon him by

[85] This date is easily explained by the fact that the British used the calendar of India, which was one day in advance of that of the Spanish in the Philippines.

[86] An edict issued by Anda on October 26, 1762, after protesting against British occupation, orders the alcaldes-mayor to pay no heed to despatches or orders issued by the archbishop, either in his own name or that of the British. The bearers of such despatches are to be arrested.

Anda and those who imitate him, in order to avoid scandal, a time will come when he will compel their obedience. He informs Anda that the English calendar is one day in advance of that of the Spanish in the Orient. He protests his loyalty and Anda's excesses.]

[On October 30, the archbishop issues a manifesto to "the faithful natives and their leaders of these Philipinas Islands."[87] Writing as archbishop and governor, he informs them that the city of Manila has been taken by assault by the English on the fifth of October, after a vigorous defense. The British are enemies, but are most generous and cultured and have granted freedom of worship, and permission for the people to proceed freely with their trade, on condition of the payment of four million pesos, and the surrender of all the fortifications of the islands with military honors to alcaldes and officers. The British ask only that the people keep quiet (the islands being as it were, a deposit), until their monarch and the Spanish ruler come to terms. The natives are to be for the present subordinate to the British, although their loyalty to the Spanish king is not to be lessened. At some length, the archbishop entreats the natives to attend to their religious duties, and not to turn aside to listen to the vulgar. They must maintain good relations with the British, for these, although conquerors, live in harmony with the Spaniards and if their soldiers commit any wrongs against the natives

[87] On September 24, the British leaders had issued their first manifesto for the native populations, reassuring the natives that no harm would be done them and that they would be allowed freedom of worship if they did not aid the Spaniards. See *Ingleses en Filipinas* (MS.), pp. 80, 81; and *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 39, 40.

they will be punished. Reward and punishment alike will come from God.[88]]

[Again on November 4, the archbishop writes to Anda. In it he states that he has been recognized throughout his negotiations as the representative of the Spanish monarch, and the true governor and captain-general, and that he is not a prisoner. Much harm has resulted from Anda's provisions, which he has enacted as royal. By his order to cut off provisions from Manila, he has succeeded in angering the British against the Spaniards and natives in Manila; and it will result in the British carrying their conquest further by going out into the provinces to get food, and the Spaniards in Manila will all perish of hunger if they are not first put to the sword. This will mean the extinction of the Spaniards and the destruction of Christianity in the islands, the maintenance of which is the only object of the Spanish monarch. Anda can see how much service he is doing to the king by his actions. He must not congratulate himself that the British are few, for they number over six thousand, and they have a swift craft by which they can easily descend on the fortifications in the islands. Anda's action in ordering the removal of the treasury to Pampanga is bad, for that money could have been included in the four millions demanded by the British, one million of which is demanded immediately. Besides the generals will cease to advance the necessary money for the payments incumbent upon the king, as now, and for

[88] Published by Montero y Vidal, in his *Historia*, ii, appendix, pp. 587-589. It is dated October 28 in this version, and is signed by Juan Monroy and Ramon de Orendaín, in addition to the archbishop. It is also contained in another MS. belonging to Edward E. Ayer, where it is dated October 28.

which the archbishop gives orders on the king to them. The archbishop is not under obligation to communicate the articles of capitulation to Anda, as the latter requests, as they are only due the king. The result of the councils in which the capitulation was made has been signed by the royal Audiencia and the archbishop, and the former has only had the courage to make separately a protest, which the archbishop made openly to the generals. They have not been able to resist the promise of the four millions for a ransom. It was to be raised from the money in the treasury, and that on board the ship "Philipino"[89] if the latter were not already captured by the British. The remainder is to be paid by the king. For the contribution of one million, demanded immediately, the silver in the churches has been given with the exception of the chalices, cups, and monstrances, although the sum raised by this means and by the efforts of the citizens does not reach that amount. The archbishop has given all his plate and pectorals. He closes by strictly ordering Anda to revoke and cease to enact royal provisions, and cause disturbances which are opposed to the service of the king. Anda is sufficiently honored by his commission, and if he executes that prudently, the pacification of the villages will ensue, for which purpose it was given. The archbishop has had a right to enter into the negotiations that have taken place in regard to the surrender of Manila and its environs.]

[An edict signed by "Dauzon Drak,"[90] the English

[89] The "Filipino" carried according to a contemporaneous account, two and one-half millions of pesos fuertes. See Ferrando, iv, p. 624.

[90] Dawson Drake took over the command of Manila October 10, 1762. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 69.

governor at Manila, and by others, on November 4, states that since the governor (*i.e.*, Archbishop Rojo), together with the auditors, has conceded to the English the island of Luzón with the adjacent islands belonging to said government, according to the agreement made between Samuel Cornis, commander of the water forces, and Guillermo Draper, commander of the land forces of the British; and since "the government of Manila is conferred on us Daussone Drake and his council: we announce to all" the natives living in the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga, freedom to practice the Roman Catholic religion, and exemption from all tributes and personal services imposed by the Spaniards. Further, they are to have all the privileges of British subjects, "provided they immediately renounce the subjection and obedience that they have given to their auditor, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, who has dared to violate the agreement made between the abovesaid generals commanding and his Excellency, the governor and captain-general of the royal Audiencia of these islands, who declares himself by his own act the governor and captain-general of all the islands, without any authority, and is now a declared rebel and disobedient to the two Majesties in the said districts." If the natives behave peacefully, no violence will be shown them, but if they obstinately continue to follow Anda, they will be treated as rebels.]

[An order of Anda, dated Bacolor, November 11, provides for the safe arrival of the Chinese vessels which will come for the trade at the regular time of the monsoon, and the boat commanded by Antonio Pacheco which has been trading in China. The

alcalde-mayor of the province of Zambales is ordered to set a sentinel at Cape Bolinao, in order that he may give advice of the coming of any boat, so that it may be warned not to enter the bay of Manila, now in the control of the English, but to go to the province of Cagayan instead, where the Chinese can hold their fair. The abovesaid alcalde-mayor is to provide for the sentinels, eight in number (two of them corporals) who are to be given the same rations as those of the island of Corregidor. Eight soldiers (two of them corporals) who are to be furnished in connection with this duty by the alcalde-mayor of Pangasinan are to be provided for by the latter at the royal expense from the coffers of that province.]

[From Bacolor, Anda addresses a letter to "Governors of the natives, officials of justice and war, chiefs, cabezas de barangay, and all the natives of the village of Binalotongan, in the province of Pangazam," under date of November 18. He has been informed by their alcalde-mayor and the provincial vicar, Andres Melendez, O.P., of the village of Lingayen, that they had revolted, and that, in order to quiet them, certain demands, which they had made, had been granted for the present in a signed paper. Now, if ever, when the country is beset with foreign foes, is their perfect loyalty needed. In regard to the signed paper, Anda declares that they ought not to make use of, but rather, burn it. That they be excused from paying the rest of the tribute due from them, until Anda and the government be again in Manila, is preposterous. That demand shows that they believe that the government will not have the strength to reëstablish itself there. Now,

indeed, they ought to aid with more than the tribute, which is their recognition of vassalage to the Spanish monarch, in fact, with their lives, possessions, and services, but nothing more than the tribute due is asked from them. All the other villages pay the tribute. Two regiments of Tagálogs and Pampangos are being formed to defend the country against the English, with their own arms and the king's pay. Their village alone has complained, and is become a reproach to the others, which look askance at it. Anda is certain that they will desist from their attempts and contribute the rest of their tribute. Another of the points in the paper that was signed is that they have demanded the dismissal of two cabezas de barangay, who they declare have shamed them when their first petition was presented in the tribunal; but Anda does not even know what the petition was nor how they were shamed. They ought to present their case in the regular way, and not forcibly dismiss the two cabezas de barangay. Let them be restored to their places and their petition filed before Anda, who promises to judge it rightly. They have also asked that neither the prison guard of four men whom they were bound to furnish, nor a money equivalent for their services if they were not furnished, be longer demanded. That is a great abuse, and cannot be allowed. Their contention that no justice should be appointed who does not come from their midst, Anda approves. If the paper was signed through fear of arms and in order to quiet them, it is null and void, and he who holds it is in danger of being regarded as a traitor. Anda asks them to send him the paper in order that he may destroy it, and to thus prove their loyalty. The troops

of Bulacan and Pampanga are about to take the field against the English. Anda had intended to ask them, but recent developments have decided against it.[91]]

[A communication from Anda, dated Bacolor, December 21, recites the conditions of pardon for the Sangleys of Guagua concerned in the conspiracy of the day before.[92] These are as follows: 1. Surrender of all their arms, and examination of their houses, without any resistance. 2. Married Sangleys in the villages of the province to be restored to their houses, if not in too great number. 3. Both married and single Sangleys of Guagua to move with families and possessions to places indicated by government. 4. Must not keep arms henceforth, nor go the villages of Lubao, Guagua, Sesmoan,[93] and Mecabebe, as those places are the keys of the province. 5. Must take out necessary and usual licenses. Certain captains are ordered to inform the Sangleys of these

[91] Other things demanded in the petition of the natives were: the return of the tribute that had been collected; the removal of the schoolmaster and the church fiscal; the removal of the alcalde-mayor of the province; permanence of office for the then master-of-camp of the province (Ferrando, iv, p. 660).

[92] The Marquis de Ayerbe says (*Sitio y conquista*, pp. 91-93) that nine hundred Sangleys conspired against Anda at Guagua, who in connivance with those of Manila, numbered more than 5,000. Anda was informed of the conspiracy by a native. By his promptness of action, he attacked and defeated the entrenched Sangleys, capturing from them nine barrels of powder, many guns, and nine thousand pesos.

[93] In the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid, there is a tastefully carved plate of some hard Philippine wood, on which are three separate inscriptions, also carved in the wood. This plate was set up by Anda on the gate of the village of Sesmoan in the province of Pampanga. When the walls were destroyed, this plate was preserved in the house of the parish priest and was later (1857) sent to Manila where it was preserved in the Audiencia building (June 1, 1858), as a memorial of the signal services of Anda.

conditions, and to examine the houses in search of hidden arms which are to be confiscated. A classified register of all Chinese by villages is to be made; and for the present soldiers are to be quartered on them. On the twenty-second, the governor of the village of Apalit is ordered to go immediately in pursuit of the Sangleys who fled from Guagua, and in case of resistance and refusal to surrender to kill them all. If they surrender, they are to be taken to Bacolor. The same order is given to the governors of Calumpit, Hagonoy, and Malolos. On the same date, the governor of Guagua is ordered to forbid the sale of nipa wine and destroy all found in the taverns, in order to avoid the possibility of drunkenness and offenses against God, especially now "when it is feared that the Sangleys are coming from Manila with the English, according to the treaty which the latter have made with the Sangleys of this province."]

[A series of documents dated December 22, 23, 27, 30, and 31, 1762, and February 4, 1763, treat of the Sangley conspiracy in the province in conjunction with the English and the Sangleys of the Parián of Manila and the terrible vengeance taken. Anda informs all the officials and people of the province of Pampanga of the discovery of the conspiracy a few days before it was to be sprung. This was to have been on Christmas eve, when many people would be engaged in their devotions and others would be celebrating by becoming intoxicated. The Chinese of the province, together with about one thousand others from the Parián, were to kill right and left and thus prepare the way for the entrance of the English. On being discovered, the Chinese make a stand on

the twentieth of December, but are forced to flee refusing the promises of safety if they laid down their arms. The officials are ordered to watch carefully and kill all the Chinese they can find; and not allow the sale of wine. The ecclesiastics are also warned to keep a strict watch and not to open their churches on Christmas eve, without placing guards. The vengeance taken on the Chinese captured is terrible, for one hundred and eighty-one of them are killed or commit suicide, as is testified by Captain Balthasar Casal. For the future most strict measures are to be taken in regard to the Chinese in the province, and many restrictions are imposed upon them, in order that they may constantly be kept under the close surveillance of the authorities.]

[An edict, signed by Drake, Brook, and others, of the British government, on January 23, 1763, offers a reward of five thousand pesos for the capture of Anda, inasmuch as, assisted by various ecclesiastics, he continues hostile to the British government, and is inciting the natives of Bulacan and Pampanga provinces against it, stipulation being made that Anda is not to be killed. Those natives who leave Anda's faction will be allowed freedom of worship, and exemption from the tribute and from personal services. The ecclesiastics, all of whom are considered as vassals of Great Britain, will be punished, severely if they refuse to cease their disturbances.[94]]

[Anda writes (probably in January or the early part of February, 1763) to the Manila cabildo and merchants, stating that he has just heard that the archbishop is discussing with the British the sending

[94] Published by Malo de Luque, v, pp. 278-281; Mas, i, pp. 167, 168; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 590, 591.

of a trading ship to Nueva Espana. Since this is not a proper procedure, Anda considers it his duty to require a stop put to it, and orders it to be strictly forbidden for the following reasons: 1. The ship cannot be sent with a legitimate register, by the English, as a state of war exists with them, nor by the archbishop, as he is not governor. 2. Trade between England and the Philippines is forbidden even in times of peace, as is also trade by way of the South Sea. 3. What merchandise is taken will be that of the enemy, as the Spanish merchants of the Philippines are in no condition to send goods, and it is not proper to send the goods of an enemy under pretext that they are those legitimately belonging to the city. 4. The privilege of trade granted to Manila has ceased since Manila has passed to another government, and cannot be regained until regulations are passed in favor of the rest of the islands which are still loyal. 5. The word of honor given to the British was only not to take up arms against them, and they owe nothing else to them, and hence, can and should remain loyal to Spain. Consequently, this effort should be resisted as strongly as possible.]

[On February 12, Anda addresses a long and most bitter and denunciatory letter to the archbishop, accusing him of connivance with the British, and the utter disregard of Spanish interests. He reminds the archbishop again that he has assumed the office of governor in accordance with certain laws in the *Recopilación*. The archbishop must cease his disloyal practices, which are prejudicial to the rights of those domains and the irreparable loss of the inhabitants. Through his folly, Manila was taken by assault, and then the fort of Santiago surrendered

without a blow. To this is added the disastrous sack which lasted longer than the time allowed by the rules of war; with its accompanying evils of bloodshed, violations of the women, and profanation of the churches. All this instead of causing the sentiment of pity in the breast of the archbishop, has caused him to rejoice in the success of the British. He has ceded the islands as if they were his own property, or as if he had authority to do so, thus failing in his oath to defend the government. The four million pesos which he has promised, has also been in contravention of right. Both the cession and the promise of the indemnity are null and void. The British threat to take vengeance on the Spaniards if their demands were not met, was a boast that would not have been carried out. The fort of Cavite could have been defended for it was in good condition, but it was handed over without any attempt at defense. This would have saved great trouble, and consultation between the two crowns would have been unnecessary had it not been done. The British now demand the cession of all the islands, but that could have been avoided, as Anda is governor, not he. The archbishop has been guilty of usurping a title and office that do not belong to him, but to Anda, in view of developments at Manila. He has endeavored to cause Anda to retire to Manila, and abandon the defense, even sending him a passport for that purpose – a most base attempt. He has sent orders to the alcaldes-mayor to have the Spaniards, who have withdrawn from Manila, return thither, his object being to have them give their word of honor to the British, a course that will necessarily weaken the Spanish defense of the provinces. He has secured food and supplies for

the British, and has induced certain Chinese from a trading champan to settle in the Parián, in order that the British may have greater strength. He has endeavored to dislodge the Augustinians, who side with Anda,[95] from their villages and supply their place with seculars. He has done these things to curry favor with the British and through his vanity and love of figuring. Lastly, he is attempting to have a ship sent to Nueva Espana to trade at Acapulco. But this is clearly against all right, for the only goods that would be sent would be English, and besides, since Manila and Cavite are now virtually British colonies, all commerce between them and the Spanish-American possessions is forbidden, a fact still further enforced by the condition of war now prevailing. The poverty of the Spaniards, with the assault and sack, does not allow them to ship any goods at present. Anda earnestly urges the archbishop to cease all his disloyal practices else he threatens to cry him as a traitor to the king and an ally of the English.]

[The Jesuit provincial Bernardo Pazuengos,[96] who

[95] The provincial and all the fathers of the college of Santa Cruz were imprisoned on mere suspicion; and the same was done with the prior of the Augustinian convent. All the religious and students of Santo Tomás were imprisoned, and charged with urging the soldiers to desert. The British took advantage of this to search the convents and carry off what they wished. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 75, 76.

[96] Bernardo Pazuengos was born at Garnica in the diocese of Calahorra, May 22, 1706. He was admitted into the Jesuit order, October 9, 1720, and went to the Philippines in 1732, where he taught philosophy and theology at Manila. Returning to Spain as procurator, he went to Mexico in 1754. In 1764 (*sic*, in Sommervogel, but this date must be an error, as he is provincial in 1763), he was made provincial of the Philippines. See Sommervogel, vi, cols. 413, 414.

claims to be sent by the English governor of Manila, asks for secret audience with Anda at Apalit, February 26. This being granted on the afternoon of that day, no results are obtained for the provincial can show no written credentials authorizing him as envoy, claiming that he has been appointed and empowered only verbally, and ordered to treat secretly with Anda. He claims not to know in what light Anda is regarded by the British governor – whether as the legitimate governor or as an usurper.]

[The archbishop writes to Anda, under date of March 21, informing him of the arrest of Villacorta on account of his communication with Anda (his letters having been seized), and that the sentence of death has been passed upon him, because he has broken his word of honor. Other Spaniards, some of them religious, have also been arrested. He asks that the disturbances among the natives cease, and that they be instructed in their religious duties and in loyalty, and resume their work.[97] He writes this letter in his ecclesiastical character in his solicitude for the souls of his flock. The archbishop is doing his best in behalf of Villacorta.[98]]

[In answer to this letter Anda writes a long and bitter reply. Although he says that the archbishop's letter merits no answer for its lack of courtesy, yet he answers it in hopes that the archbishop may see the error of his ways. He recalls to the latter's memory that he was appointed visitor general of the islands, with the real mission of protecting them if the Eng-

[97] When Villacorta was arrested, the English promised to liberate him if Anda would retire from Pampanga to some other province (Martinez de Zúñiga, p. 648).

[98] Published in Malo de Luque, v, pp. 290-292; Mas, i, pp. 170-172; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 593, 594.

lish captured Manila, and in case such happened, he was to write to the bishops, prelates of the religious orders, and the alcaldes-mayor, urging and ordering them to defend the islands and the Catholic religion. Accordingly, he did so on the fall of Manila, and received enthusiastic support from ecclesiastics, officials, and natives.[99] The archbishop has, on the contrary, endeavored to influence the prelates, religious, and natives to submit to the British, so that one might imagine that he has lost his wits. He has written Anda to retire to Manila and leave the government of the provinces to the enemy, but the English will be entirely wiped out if they do not relinquish their ideas, for they cannot settle themselves firmly in the islands. Santiago Orendain[100] as well as the arch-

[99] The library of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago contains a series of manuscripts bound into one document, and entitled: "Papers apropos of the representation of the royal Audiencia and the posts of governor and captain general having devolved upon Sr. Don Simon de Anda y Salasar; and the measures taken by him as such during the invasion of the English at that capital." From a paper accompanying this MS. we translate as follows: "In the 63 useful sheets of which it is composed, it contains original testimonies of those appointments, acts, measures, and autograph orders, dictated and directed by Anda to all the authorities of those islands in order that he might keep the country obedient and under the dominion of his Majesty, during the war sustained against the English in 1762 and the following years, in which the English gained control of Manila and Cavite, until they were expelled and said places recovered by the Spaniards; with the original replies and testimonies of obedience and respect, which were given to Anda as such governor and captain general by the prelates, alcaldes-mayor, provincial chiefs, reverend fathers of the religious orders, and all the natives of the country; evidence of the offers made him; replies of the said Anda to them; and other details interesting on account of their text, and the form and originality which they show." These are the originals, or contemporaneous copies thereof, and cover the years 1762-1764. Lack of space forbids the use of any of them here.

[100] A German lay-brother and Santiago de Orendaín went com-

bishop has played into the hands of the British; and because Anda has not fallen in with their ideas he has been branded as a traitor and rebel. The archbishop has influenced the British against Anda, and they recognizing the opportunity to create civil war in the islands have proceeded against the latter. The British have also made an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Joló,[101] but the archbishop has offered no serious objection to such a procedure, which is to make war upon the Catholic religion, for it will inundate the islands with Mahometans, in addition to the English Protestants. This is opposed to the treaty between the Joloans and Spaniards, as well as to the agreements made between the English and Spaniards. The English answer the archbishop's letter of protest of such an alliance by saying that the Spaniards have failed to keep their promise; whereat the archbishop, instead of declaring a holy war, and calling on the people to defend their religion with their lives, accepts the situation. The English have profaned the churches, but the archbishop has done nothing. The manner in which the archbishop protected the notorious criminal Orendain in the meeting of the Audiencia, when his violent language attracted the attention of citizens, left much room for doubt as to his sanity. Anda continues as follows

pletely over to the English. They burned many summer residences in the suburbs, and caused all the prisoners to swear allegiance to the British, although many failed to keep this forced oath. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 73, 74.

[101] Among the prisoners taken by the enemy were the king of Joló and his son Israel, who bore themselves like brave men, and more honorably than some of the Spaniards who fought there. When the British forces left, the king of Joló also fled in a ship of the English East India Company. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 90, 130.

with a harsh attack on the archbishop, which although possibly too violent, throws much light on the life of the times:]

The memory of that letter, which your Excellency wrote to the bishop of Zebù, when the latter was president, governor, and captain-general of these islands, does not fail to corroborate this idea [*i.e.*, of the archbishop's sanity]. In that letter you advised him that in order that you might undertake to consecrate him, he must first assure your Excellency, among other things, that he would not hold dances of women and men in the palace, as that was entirely opposed to modesty, prudence, and a delicate conscience of bishops, as well as outside the object of the consecration. That advice was very worthy of praise, although it would appear that it was idle and could have been excused because of the solid virtue and religious conduct of Señor Espeleta. But (oh human misery and weakness!) your Excellency did not practice that healthful counsel in the celebration of the patronage of our Lady of Guadalupe. For, to the universal confusion and laughter of all your flock, and of the respect due to your exalted dignity, your Excellency invited to your palace, all the ladies of distinction and the women of the lower class, in order that they might celebrate said festivity with contradances, fandangos, and other dances, which lasted on different nights from six in the evening until one or two in the morning; and those ladies made use of your Excellency's privy and bedroom for that indecent although natural easing of the body. Neither was your Excellency dissuaded by the consideration that during the carnival days of the year 1762, you preached, as a good shepherd and vigilant

prelate, against dancing, portraying with just arguments the spiritual risks and ruin which followed from it, and especially from those dances in which the dancers hold one anothers' hands and clasp arms, as well as from those which caused some immodest movements; and yet, it was public and notorious that on the night preceding said sermon and on the following night, your Excellency had in your palace the greatest concourse of men and women of all classes ever seen in Manila, and the same women whom your Excellency chid in the pulpit, and [whose procedure you] considered as an action very near to spiritual ruin, were incessantly engaged in dancing. It is worth noting that some ladies excused themselves from attending said party, and you expressed your indignation, saying that you would compel them to attend such functions. Equally, or much more, is this idea confirmed by the reflection of what happened in Cavite, on the occasion of your Excellency having gone to inspect the keel of a ship which was to be constructed; for under this pretext, your Excellency invited and even compelled many ladies of Manila to go to said port, where, and on distinct nights, your Excellency made the round of the village amid fine music and ladies, inciting the latter to sing the *Chairo*, the *Forito*, and other profane songs, interpolating them with the most holy rosary which was recited in the church, and after the round, the above-said dances were held at your Excellency's lodging, and you presided at all parts of it, inciting them like the worst pander and dancing director. Thus, your Excellency, not only were some of the ladies ashamed of your excesses, but it is also apparent to me that the ecclesiastics – seculars and regulars – of said port

were scandalized, and entirely trustworthy and prudent persons assert that the repair of the spiritual damage which you caused by your bad example would cost great labor; and if the mention of it to you by your subjects can avail for your conversion and repentance, I am ready to do it, for the sake of your soul. What shall I say, then, of what happened in your Excellency's apartments in the hamlet of Nagtaja, where for the space of all one summer, of last year, there was no let up of music and dancing until daybreak, and banquets of men and women, that in order that the latter might take their siestas, they made use of your Excellency's apartments, obliging you to leave them, although not to so great a distance that they did not discommode you? And it is quite worth noting that at the same time that your Excellency was occupied and dazzled in these festivities, so opposed to your character [of your office], the English were planning the conquest of Manila, and with it the ruin of all the islands. Consider, now, your Excellency, in view of the above, whether such procedures and conduct in a prelate, of the truth of which there cannot be the slightest doubt, are those of one who is in the possession of his right senses.

[The archbishop's letters have no effect and fail of their purpose when events prove that he does quite the contrary to what he writes and preaches and counsels. Experience shows that he is making use of apparently virtuous means to deliver the islands over to Calvinism and Lutheranism; and that would inevitably have happened had not Anda instituted a vigorous defense, aided by the bishops and other pious and loyal Spaniards and natives, all of whom recognize the legitimacy of his government and deny

all the authority of the archbishop and Orendain. Anda is sorry for the plight in which Villacorta is, and would aid him if he could, but if such aid must be at the expense of the islands, then he will not move in his defense – which he would not do for anyone, not even his own parents. He will take full vengeance for it later. However, he believes that the English are but making use of the archbishop in order to secure a suspension of hostilities. Besides, he can do nothing toward bringing about peace if he is a declared traitor and rebel, and even if the enemy recognize him as true governor, he cannot have anything to do with such proposals unless they are made to him in writing and in due form. This matter of Villacorta is only a pretext to make Anda hated by the people, and a scheme by which the English can gain possession of the provinces. In all their machinations they have made use of the archbishop to aid them to gain their ends. When the fort of Santiago was surrendered to the British, a verbal agreement was made with General Draper by the archbishop "that the persons, wealth, and possessions of all the persons in said fort were to be free, as were also the wealth and possessions of those in the city, with the sole difference that the latter were to be prisoners; that the practice of religion and the exercise of its tribunals were also to continue in the same manner as before the capture of the city, commerce also being free, etc." The British have, however, not kept this agreement, and the archbishop justly treated them at that time as robbers and pirates. But if that was so in October how can the archbishop now aid or abet them in the ruin of the islands, and draining the treasury, city, churches, and pious funds, besides giv-

ing warrants for two million pesos on the king – and all this without any opposition. With the sack and the capture of the "Santisima Trinidad," a sum greater than the four million pesos unjustly demanded has been raised. How can they expect Villacorta to keep his word of honor, which it was unnecessary for him to give as he was in the fort? If he gave such word it was under compulsion. All this should be represented by the archbishop to the judges who condemned Villacorta. Anda earnestly entreats the latter to reform in his manner of living, and to cease his excesses.[102]]

Letter from the castellan of Cavite, Monsieur Brerreton, to the insurgent of Ylocos, Diego Silang.[103]

My Dear Sir:

Yesterday the governor handed me the letter which your Grace was pleased to send him, in which

[102] Published in part in Malo de Luque, v, pp. 293-310; Mas, i, pp. 172-181; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 594-602. The most interesting part, that reproduced above, is omitted by each of these writers.

[103] Space will not permit us to give *in extenso* an account of the insurrection headed by Diego Silán or Silang. It was the most obstinate of all the insurrections that broke out against the Spaniards during the English occupation. Diego Silán was born December 16, 1730, in Pangasinan province. As a lad he served the cura of Vigan, but being sent down to Manila, the boat in which he took passage was wrecked on the coast of Bolinao. All his companions were killed by the barbarous inhabitants, but he was kept as a slave, being finally ransomed by a Recollect friar. Later he became a messenger for the parish priest at Vigan, and being found trustworthy was appointed to carry the letters to Manila annually at the time the Manila boat was expected. In this service, he acquired a wide acquaintance; and it was comparatively easy for him after the assault of Manila to rouse the natives, under pretext of protecting themselves from the British since the Spaniards were no longer able to defend them. Demands

your Grace promises to be loyal to his sacred Majesty, the king of Gran Bretaña, my master. You may believe, Don Diego, that your letter gave me especial pleasure and great joy – so much so that I resolved to send you one of his Majesty's ships under my command, in order to assure your Grace of my protection, and aid in the name of my master, against the common enemy, España. I have been very sensible of the many injuries which your Grace has suffered under the tyrannical government of the Spaniards; but I am very pleased to know that your Grace has opened your eyes, and that your Grace will strengthen and encourage your people to humiliate

formulated and presented by the insurgents include the deposition of the alcalde-mayor, Antonio Zabala; that office to be held by the provisor Tomás Millán; the election of one of the four chiefs of Vigan as justice; the expulsion of all the Spaniards and mestizos from the province; the appointment of Silán to make head against the English. The insurrection makes great headway, and is soon found to be an attempt to break with all Spanish authority, and the insurgents are incited by the British, who appoint Silán alcalde and governor of the province of Ilocos. Silán meddles with ecclesiastical matters, opposing Bishop Ustariz, whereupon the latter pronounces an interdict in Vigan. Augustinians seized by Silán are imprisoned three separate times. Silán is finally killed by a Spanish mestizo, Miguel Vicos, May 28, 1763. This insurrection was quickly put down after the death of Silán, who was its life and exhibited a certain amount of shrewdness and resource. But shortly after, another insurrection was started under Silán's uncle, Nicolás Cariño, which gained considerable headway, although it was finally stifled and quiet restored. Anda took various measures against these insurrections, but it was impossible for him to leave his post in Bulacan, where English matters occupied his attention. These insurrections were perhaps the most serious that the Spanish power in the Philippines had yet suffered. For accounts of them, see *Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la provincia de Ilocos, en los años de 1762 y 1763*, by Pedro de Vivar, O.S.A. (written in 1764; but published in Manila, 1893, in vol. iv, *Biblioteca historica filipina*), in which many documents are given; and Montero y Vidal's *Historia*, ii, pp. 77-114. Isabelo de los Reyes, the Ilocano writer and demagogue, praises Silán highly. See also *post*, pp. 298-306.

the sovereignty of so cruel a nation. For motives of this nature, the king my master drew his sword in defense of his vassals, and of other nations, his allies, who suffered the lash of the Spanish tyranny in different parts of the world. Your Grace can rest assured of the consideration of the king my master, when he learns of your Grace's loyalty and the injuries which your Grace and good compatriots have suffered from the hand of the one by whom you ought to have been protected and aided, from the general whom his Majesty despatched, together with the admiral. On the general's return he will give information of the conquest of these islands, and is well instructed to represent to his Majesty the completely favorable attitude of the natives of them.

The admiral went with the greater part of the squadron to protect the dominions along the coast and Yndia. He has left me particular instructions to cultivate harmonious relations and friendship with the province of Ylocos and the other nations of the north. I am sorry that I have not paid your Grace a visit, but important business has prevented me. However, your Grace can rest assured that I shall be most vigilant in extending help to you.

In a short time, your Grace will have troops and war supplies. This despatch is to assure your Grace of our friendship and my satisfaction at receiving your letter, and because of your loyalty. In order that your Grace may communicate it to all the people, especially to those under your command, I am sending your Grace a small bronze cannon in token of affection.

I hope that the provinces of Pangazinan and Cagayan will soon follow your worthy example and tear off the chains of Spanish slavery.

I am also sending your Grace the edict published by the two leaders of sea and land, when we conquered our enemy. For my part I assure you that I shall religiously observe it, and I invite you when time permits, to despatch your boats to this capital, where they will be welcomed for their trade. The bearer of this letter is a captain in his Britannic Majesty's service, and he will inform your Grace of particulars. Hence, I shall not go to great length to repeat, with my accustomed sincerity, that I shall employ all my strength in your defense, in order that your Grace may free yourself from the Spanish yoke. I shall not cease to beseech God, our Lord, to preserve your Grace for many years. Manila, May 6, 1763.[104]

B. BRERRETON

[104] Draper and Cornish sent an edict to the Filipinos on September 24, 1762, announcing that the Filipinos need have no fear of the British fleet, provided that they do not join the Spaniards or assist them in any way. They will be received under British protection; their women and children will be free from outrages; full prices will be paid them for food; they will be free to go and come as they please; and freedom of worship will be conserved to them. If they do, on the contrary, aid the Spanish, then they must fear the punishment that will be inflicted. May 13, 1763, Silang writes the British assuring them of obedience and non-aid to the Spaniards. In the same month, the British write Silang promising to send him soon, troops, weapons, and war supplies. The British successes in Manila, Pasig, and Maysilo, are mentioned, while in the month just past, the fort of Batangas in Bulacan has been captured. They are attracting all the natives of the islands to their banners, and have treated them humanely, freeing them from the tribute and the various ecclesiastical oppressions. The Augustinians have been especially active against the British, and against the vows of their profession have taken up arms, thus occasioning the shedding of much blood. They have also treated Silang cruelly. Therefore the British will esteem it if Silang will secure the Augustinians, the alcalde, Antonio Zavala, and all other Spaniards, and send the same to the English, taking possession besides of all their property and estates. The lack of priests for the present may be filled by seculars until the archbishop can appoint others. The British wish to conserve the

[*Addressed*: "To Don Diego Silang, alcalde-mayor and war-captain for his Majesty in the province of Ylocos."]

[Under date of March (*sic in original*; May?) 15, the British commander of the forces in Manila, Roberto Eduardo Fell, writes Anda, asking him to see to it that acts of barbarism and cruelty such as have been practiced by Anda's troops against the British, on many occasions, be discontinued. He denies that the British soldiers have broken the laws of warfare, and during the sack, many officers tried to restrain them at the risk of their own lives, while the Spanish troops have on the contrary fired more than once at the white flag, thus not adhering to the honorable conduct of Spaniards in Europe. He does not ask for discontinuance of the war, but only observance of the common humanities of war.]

[Anda answers the preceding letter on the twenty-first of May, in which he deals at length with the charges of inhumanity and cruelty made against the Spaniards by Fell, and in sarcastic terms makes counter charges of cruelty and lack of good faith on the part of the English. "Manila," he says, "was lost, because it was poorly defended, the citadel because it was basely surrendered, as was also the port of Cavite; and not because there was a lack of brave

Catholic religion. No duties shall be charged on their trading boats. The provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan will also be admitted under the protection of the British, if they desire it. Silang's aid is asked against Anda and his men. With the letter are sent copies of a manifesto inviting trade. (All these documents are contained in the manuscript entitled *Ingleses en Filipinas*.)

Spaniards, but because they had the misfortune not to have a leader to manage them, with less ignominy, disorder, and confused foresight, than those displayed by the archbishop." After the English entered by assault, they committed many acts of cruelty, killing often without quarter. The English have not always respected the white flag, and have used it for unlawful purposes, such as sending an officer into the Spanish camp to offer amnesty and pardon to deserters if they would return to their companies. When Anda was as yet without troops or weapons, the English proscribed him as a traitor, and put a price on his capture, alive or dead. Since the English have acted thus inhumanely toward him, is Anda obliged to regard the laws of warfare? Anda refers to a British edict of May 17 which he says appears to be in the same hand as the letter received from Fell. Such a thing does not argue for the good faith of the English.[105] Anda denies in heated terms charges of

[105] This edict is as follows: "Inasmuch as many malcontents of the district of Señor Anda frequently come to the villages of Santa Cruz, Binondoc, etc., for the purpose of killing the officers and soldiers whom they meet; and since said malcontents flee precipitously as soon as our troops go out in pursuit of them: therefore, notice is given to all the Spaniards living in said villages, to come to live within the city of Manila inside of one week, since we can protect them in this way. If, perchance, they neglect to obey this order, they must stand the consequences, for if many of said canaille gather together, it is feasible that the governor will be necessarily obliged to order the cannon fired among the houses, for the purpose of driving them away." (Published in Malo de Luque, v, pp. 284-285; Mas, i, p. 183; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 602, 603). This edict Anda answered on the nineteenth at Bacolor. In it the British are styled as dishonorable men, for regarding as rebels those who are loyal to their king, and for their offer of a reward for Anda alive or dead. The statements in the edict of the seventeenth, namely, that the loyalist Spanish troops are canaille and that they are on the lookout for opportunity to murder British officers, are branded as utter falsehoods. In return,

personal cruelty and encouragement of inhumanity and cruelty. He has used his efforts to restrain his men, especially the natives who are barbarously inclined. He has even offered a reward of five hundred pesos for each English officer captured alive and brought in living.]

[A manifesto or edict published by the British government in Manila under date of June 6, and sent to Anda, "former auditor of the royal Audiencia and supposed governor of the Filipinas Islands," threshes the whole matter over again. The acts of the British are carefully excused of all cruelty, while on the other hand, the inhumanity and cruelty of Anda and his troops are proved clearly to the satisfaction of the English. The latter are called pirates and robbers by Anda, but the term is misapplied; for the British did not take a just vengeance for the death of one of their officers who was killed under the white flag. Anda has been, and is, a rebel to the king of Spain, for he has not regarded the commands of the archbishop, the rightly constituted Spanish representative of Spanish sovereignty. The archbishop has never made public the commission with which Anda claims that he left the city. What more are Anda's men than canaille (a name to which Anda objects), for they are rebels to the proper authority, and are made up of vagabond Indians, robbers, and

the three men who have signed the above edict – Drake, Smith, and Brook – are proscribed, and a price of ten thousand pesos offered for each one, dead or alive. This edict further orders that the humane treatment of the Spanish toward English captives or deserters be continued as hitherto, to the extent possible. (The version from which we condense is evidently an abridgment of the edict, which is given entire by Malo de Luque, v, pp. 285-290; Mas, i, pp. 183-185; Ferrando, iv, pp. 647, 648; and Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 603-605.)

murderers, and some few deserters who are captained by some irreligious friars, and some persons who broke their word of honor not to take up arms against the British? Anda has not scrupled to reward murderers by political offices and money. The British manifesto offers five thousand pesos for the capture of Anda, but stipulates that he is to be kept alive. Anda is trying to seduce the natives and set them against peace and order. If his armed bands continue, it will result in the shedding of much blood and in the destruction of the country, for Anda can never drive out and defeat the English, and reconquer Manila. Even if the city is returned to the Spaniards, it must either be left to the natives or reconquered from them by the Spanish king. Auditor Galban, the fiscal, Leandro Viana, and the marquis of Monte Castro, and many others, have broken their word of honor and have gone over to Anda. This is a violation of a most sacred oath. It cannot be excused by saying that the British have broken their promises, for their promises had nothing to do with the word of honor given by the Spanish prisoners of war. Anda is breaking the rights of nations by receiving and welcoming such violators of their word. Even Villacorta, the only auditor who remains in the city, has long been holding traitorous communications with the rebels.[106] In spite of all

[106] January 28, 1763, the fiscal Viana fled the city, going to Anda's camp, where he was gladly received, and where he became very useful. Later Villacorta also escaped to Anda's camp. The latter and Galbán, who had been very far from doing their duty in the time of danger, conspired to wrest the command from Anda in case of Rojo's death, on the grounds that most persons believed that the government of the islands should be given to Bishop Ustáriz of Nueva Segovia. The Franciscan and Recollect provincials, and the Jesuit superior declared that the command

these things, and the non-fulfilment of the Spaniards to pay the two million pesos in cash of the four settled upon for their ransom (failing even to pay the one million which the British consented to take in cash, because the Spaniards have not given as freely as they can), the British have ever treated them with the honor characteristic of the English nation. The peace of the islands has been prevented by the conduct of the Spaniards.]

[Letters from Anda to Bishop Bernardo Ustariz and the people of the province of Ilocos in general, respectively dated June 13, and 12, return thanks for the victory over the insurgent Silang, and mention the celebrations with solemn mass that have been held in Bacolor. The indult issued by the bishop to the Ilocans is approved. Pedro Bicbic, the chief justice, and Miguel Vicos, are especially thanked for their part in the victory and remuneration will be made to them. For the present, the bishop is to have charge of civil affairs in the province. The arms taken from Silang and distributed by the bishop to the loyal Ilocans are given them as their own; and report is to be made the king, so that he may fittingly reward them.]

[Anda writes to the archbishop under date of July 29, refusing to assent to the truce offered by the latter between Anda and the British, and which the archbishop declares to have been arranged for between the sovereigns. Anda demands that communications of such a nature must be made him directly by the British authorities and not through the archbishop, whom he cannot trust, and who is, besides, a prisoner.

belonged to Anda; while the other religious institutes were neutral or sided with Bishop Ustáriz. The Augustinians pronounced for Villacorta. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 65, 66.

Indeed, the archbishop has no business to meddle with the matter at all. Anda distrusts the sincerity of the British, and suspects some plot to invade his territory. The archbishop should be mindful of the verbal agreement which he himself made with General Draper when he surrendered the fort of Santiago, and how it was completely disregarded. Anda insists on official recognition and the drawing up of documents that can be used as proof of any negotiations entered into between himself and the British.]

[The British in Manila publish an edict on September 19, declaring Anda responsible for any further bloodshed because of his disregard of the news of the suspension of hostilities, as arranged between the deputies of the two sovereigns. The first news of the suspension was brought by a ship from Madras on July 23, 1763, and was sent forthwith to Anda by the archbishop. The preliminaries of peace, signed by each side, were brought from the same port on August 26. But although Anda was also informed of this immediately, he has paid no attention to it, and has steadfastly dared to violate the orders of his sovereign. Hence, if he does not acquiesce in the suspension, he, or any of his adherents, will be attacked, wherever met, with arms; and at the first opportunity, information regarding his obstinacy and arrogancy will be sent to Spain.[107]]

[In regard to the alleged suspension of hostilities by the British, Anda issues two edicts or proclamations, dated September 28, and October 24, respectively. He complains that he has not been treated

[107] The preliminary peace treaties were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, November 3, 1762, and the treaty of peace at Paris, February 10, 1763.

by the invaders as rightful governor, and that no legitimate messages have been transmitted to him. The attempt of the British is to inflame the natives against him by a system of trickery. To publish a suspension of hostilities, and then to commit all sorts of excesses (as the English have done) is hardly sincere. Anda issues these proclamations in order that the people may not be deceived by the trickery and double-dealing of the enemy.]

[The wrongs inflicted by the English, in which are included excesses and outrages of all sorts, form the subject of Anda's letter of November 2, to Thomas Becus [Backhouse], commander-in-chief of the British forces. Several instances of the cruelty of the soldiers are mentioned, especially those in which no quarter has been shown to Spaniards who have surrendered. Although the British have published a suspension of hostilities they have continued to commit all manner of outrages, such as robbery, arson, bribery, etc., and Anda has been informed of this suspension only extra-officially. The cannons and war supplies of Manila and Cavite have been despoiled unlawfully, for these places are held by the British forces only for the time being and all their effects are on deposit.[108] Anda asks Becus to use his influence in restraining these outrages, and to urge the matter properly with his government. He protests against the payment of salaries on the Spanish royal account

[108] A Manila paper published in 1904 tells of the finding near the Pasig River, during a removal of a part of the old Manila wall on that side, in order to increase the customs warehouse capacity, of two old British cannons, probably six-inch mortars, with the royal arms of England and an eighteenth-century date upon them, that were turned up by the workmen. Evidently these cannons were brought by the British at the time of the siege of Manila. (Letter from James A. LeRoy, October 20, 1904.)

by the British for such expenses have been met from the situado annually sent to the islands; and some that have been paid are unauthorized. His last proclamation is enclosed, and the British are asked to act honorably and cease all excesses. Especially do the Spanish loyalists wish to have the British officer Slay[109] delivered to them for proper punishment, for he has been most guilty and brutal in his overstepping of civilized warfare.]

[In his reply to the preceding letter (November 22), the English commandant shows himself to be more of a diplomat than Major Fell. He writes in a conciliatory, yet firm tone, and in a far different spirit than former English letters. He insists that justice has been the keynote of the English government since he has taken command of its forces during the past month. Had he commanded in place of Major Fell (whom he does not like), and had any outrages been committed by his soldiers, they would have been punished. He is opposed to war, but recognizes therein, his responsibility for his own orders. Only after receiving Anda's letter has he learned that the cannon and supplies of Manila have been removed and carried to Madras. They will be replaced, if an order to that effect is received from

[109] This man commanded a British force sent out to invade the provinces and cripple Anda. He was opposed chiefly by Busto who had joined Anda some time before. The British force attacked the church and convent of Marisanto, where they were opposed by the alcalde-mayor, about seventy Spaniards, and about five thousand natives, as well as by Busto. Finally, the English took the convent and killed the alcalde-mayor, and some Recollects and other Spaniards. Some of the wounded took refuge in a garret of the convent, but were captured and handed over by Slay to the Sangleys, who killed them after inflicting severe tortures. Only two escaped by swimming across the river. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 95-98.

the king. Anda's complaints would have had more weight had he consented to observe the truce arranged between the two sovereigns; but his threats of vengeance are not quite in good point, especially since the truth that the treaty has been ratified is proved. Becus deprecates the possibility of civil war between the factions of the archbishop and Anda. It would be better for all to join forces and improve the condition of the country. The British troops will soon leave Manila, and it will be wise for all to avoid civil war. The outrages committed in Santa Cruz and in its environs were by bands of ladrones who called themselves Anda's men.[110] They have committed wanton destruction of property, and have been guilty of torture and murder. He justifies his sending military detachments outside Manila for food supplies, as self preservation is the first requisite the world over. The rupees, some of which have been put into circulation, are of more value than the peso, and of better quality, and there is no need to withdraw them. There has been no false coinage except by some Chinese who have been hanged. He challenges Anda to prove that bribery and corruption are common, and that he has refused justice to Spaniard or native. He would be glad of an interview with Anda.]

[Anda replies in a short paper of January 23, 1764, to the preliminaries of peace submitted to him by the British commandant. He outlines his position, and his right to the title of governor and captain-general, and presents objections to some of the articles.]

[110] Some of the religious quit their habits and became leaders of bands of ladrones. Most of the religious, however, remained loyal. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 79, 80.

[An edict published by Anda, January 24, 1764, states that when the British give truthful declaration that they will abide exactly by articles 21 and 22 of the peace preliminaries that have been signed between the English and Spanish, and which relate to the evacuation of the places occupied by the former, then hostilities will cease, and the British will be given all necessary help in their transportation. But until such time, the war will continue.]

[Anda writes a letter to the English governor Drake, in which he indignantly refuses to believe the assurances of the latter as to his humane proceedings, and accuses him of citing instances of cruelty to Spaniards and natives, profanation of churches, and other atrocities. He knows this because he has seen it himself in the provinces where he has been. Drake's actions, leveled also against those of his own nation, who would have been humane and obedient to the orders of their sovereign, are those of a pirate and traitor, and such as befit barbarians.]

[In a note addressed to the British military and civil chiefs of Manila, January 28, Anda cites two clauses of the treaty of February 10, 1763, made between the English and Spanish. Article 22 provides: "that all the countries and territories that might have been gained by conquest in any part of the world, either by the arms of his Britannic and most faithful Majesty, or by those of his most Christian and Catholic Majesty, which are not comprehended in the present articles, article of cession, or article of restitution, shall be returned without raising any difficulty, and without asking compensation." Article 22 provided that restitution and evacuation of places that might have been captured in the East Indies

were to be made within six months. That time, declares Anda, was in August, 1763, yet the British still hold Manila and Cavite, and if they do not leave in the next month, they must remain until the monsoon of 1765. He earnestly asks that the terms of the treaty be observed, and all hostilities suspended. In such case, the British will be furnished with food and all necessary supplies at a just price; otherwise hostilities will continue. A vigorous protest is made of all the damage occasioned by Silang and other insurgents in the provinces who have been aided by the British. Following this note, Anda addresses another to the same officials February 3, citing article 1 of the peace preliminaries, to the effect that orders will be sent to the three powers to suspend hostilities, and that passports will be given to the ships of the three powers that are to be despatched to bear the news of the treaties of the three powers. But since such orders have not been received by the royal Audiencia, they have no authority to cease the war unless the British agree to certain proposals of the royal Audiencia.]

[March 9, a note from the British officials to Anda (in which he is addressed by his proper titles in full),[111] informs him of the arrival of an English vessel from Fort St. George with the definitive treaty,[111*] of which a copy will be sent him as soon as possible. The British are ordered to return to the Coromandel

[111] By the death of the archbishop, January 30, 1764, the British changed their tactics and recognized Anda as legal governor and captain-general. But even after this the British soldiers sacked the churches and houses of Cavite. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 126.

[111*] This treaty is published in *Scots Magazine* for 1763, pp. 134-142.

coast, and intend to do so if the monsoon permits.[112] In order that Anda may aid so far as possible, they ask provision of seven or eight thousand cavans of rice and other provisions and supplies in proportion. A note from Anda of the same date, states that he was about to send his agents to Manila, but was holding them until receiving the copy of the treaty above-mentioned. These agents will have power to treat on all matters. Anda would go himself, but necessary business renders it impossible. On the tenth, Anda writes again to the effect that he will facilitate the furnishing of supplies to the British as far as possible. He will appoint persons to arrange details of the delivery of Manila and Cavite, though the delivery itself is to be made to the troops in military style.[113] Another note from Anda on the same date, announces that he has appointed the treasurer, Nicólas Echauz, Sargento-mayor Francisco Salgado, and the infantry captains, Mariano Thobias and Raymundo Español, to formally receive the effects of Manila and Cavite, and to treat of other points that may arise.]

[112] When the British forces left, about four hundred prostitutes, who were abandoned by their departure, fled from Manila. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 130.

[113] The Spanish troops entered Manila May 31, 1764, possession of the city being taken by Anda, accompanied by Busto, since the new governor *ad interim*, Francisco de la Torre, was sick. That night a banquet was given to the British commanders. June 4, Brereton tendered a banquet to Anda and other officials on his ship, the English praising Anda profusely. June 10 and 11, the British vessels left the bay for India. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 129-131.

ROJO'S NARRATIVE

Relation of the operations of the archbishop of Manila, governor and captain-general of the Philipinas, during the time of his government, of the measures taken during the time of the siege or blockade by the English of the capital of Manila, of its capture by assault, of the events which followed this unfortunate occurrence. Written for the defense of his fame and name which were abused and trampled under foot by envy through its calumnies, injuries, and reproaches by word and writing in letters and great libels.

[The archbishop[114] begins his relation with a short introduction, in which he states that his defense

[114] Montero y Vidal (ii, pp. 66, 67) says of the archbishop: "The unfortunate archbishop Rojo died January 30, 1764. The English gave him a solemn funeral, their troops granting him all the military honors. This prelate was more imbecile than traitor. . . . His obstinacy in submitting the islands to the dominion of the English; his struggles against Anda, . . . the absolute ignorance as to his powers, and his mission and obligations; his pardonable ignorance of whatever concerned the military defense of the archipelago; . . . his calm submission to whatever the English advised, even in matters which were clearly opposed to the integrity and interests of Spain; and other inexplicable acts: . . . give an exact idea of the capacity and character of the unfortunate one who had the misfortune to exercise a command in such anxious times, for which he lacked the intelligence, valor, and the conditions necessary for its proper performance." See also *ante*, pp. 129-131, note 73.

against the libels that have been published against him will consist of a synopsis or summary of his deeds while archbishop and governor, and of events during the English siege and invasion. He considers the libels themselves as unworthy an answer in kind and hence will not satisfy an idle curiosity to such an extent; and even if the charges made against him were true, to defend himself so, would only increase the scandal. He is answerable for his errors, not to the ignorant crowd, but to his king, and to the learned and prudent men of the Spanish nation.]

Part first. Of the operations of the archbishop during the time of his government of the islands.

[The archbishop finds it necessary to refer to the events of this period as some of them are connected with the events of the two following periods; and because complaints have been made of him. The first thing noted is the peace that the archbishop brought about in the ranks of the Augustinians who had split up into various factions, and who had sought the aid of the law. He also heals the breach between the visitor and the provincial of the Recollects, first succeeding in getting a peaceful entry for the visitor. One of the matters under the latter's jurisdiction having been settled in favor of the defendant, a religious, whom the order had condemned and deprived of honor, the breach opens again, but is finally settled by a council of Dominican and Augustinian religious, the visitor, the provincial and definitors of the Recollects. By the ship "Philipino," the archbishop asks the viceroy of Mexico for one hundred soldiers, but asks him not to send criminals or evil-minded men. He asks also that fifty

thousand pesos of the annual situado be in small change in order to replace the clipped coin in circulation and also to prevent further counterfeiting, which is so widespread. He also turns his attention to the troops, appointing officers and opening a recruiting station. He sends one hundred soldiers to Zamboanga, as well as the annual supplies, including two thousand pesos extra. Eighty soldiers are sent to the province of Caraga which has been ravaged by the Moros of late. These are in command of Nicolas Norton,[115] an Englishman, who has become a naturalized Spaniard. The latter is commissioned to cultivate spice and cinnamon, the working of which he understands thoroughly. With him goes a Recollect missionary to attend to spiritual matters, and good results are promised to Christianity. The new bishop of Zebù is despatched to his diocese, taking with him six thousand pesos of the funds of that bishopric, which has been adjudged him by the Audiencia.[116]

[115] See document by this man in VOL. XLVII, pp. 251-284.

[116] At the death of Governor Arandía, June 1759, the government *ad interim* was assumed by Miguel Lino de Espeleta, bishop of Cebú. When Rojo took possession of the archiepiscopal see, July 22, 1759, he claimed that the government belonged to him. The auditors Villacorta and Galbán voted for Espeleta, and Calderon and Dávila for Rojo. Espeleta, however, was backed by the troops, and the matter was accordingly decided in his favor. His first measure was the repeal of the celebrated ordinances of good government compiled by Arandía. His next step was the prosecution of Santiago Orendaín, the favorite of Arandía, as he believed him to be the originator of the regulations contrary to the religious, charge of the prosecution being given to Auditor Villacorta. Orendaín took refuge in the Augustinian convent at Tondo, but was given up and lodged in the fort of Santiago. Escaping thence, he was received into the Recollect convent, whence he was taken by soldiers. The matter stirred up the opposing forces, and excommunications followed in rapid succession on both sides, the two auditors, Calderon and Dávila being among

The archbishop has a part in the pacification of Bohol through the above bishop and the alcalde-mayor newly appointed to that province.[117] They succeed in reducing the chief insurgent Dagahoy and three thousand men, after the province had been in rebellion for over fourteen years, during which two Jesuits have been killed. "At the beginning of the archbishop's term of government, a contagious epidemic of smallpox showed and declared itself, which had stealthily and slowly gained a foothold in the city and spread rapidly through the villages in its environs, without escaping little or big of the very great population of the natives." The archbishop meets the issue by various spiritual and temporal measures, detailing ecclesiastical ministers to administer the sacraments, in which both regulars and Jesuits aid manfully. "A holy field was assigned for burials, because of the horror caused by the dead in the churches, and to prevent the pest from spreading because of the stench. He appointed four deputies from the regidors, and a like number from the ecclesiastical cabildo with instructions and orders which he gave to attend to all the necessities of the poor and sick." He gives these men one thousand pesos of his own income, and various sums resulting from fines, especially from play (more than two thousand pesos) for the charitable work. A council of physicians is called to write a prescription which is posted up in all the churches of the villages and in other public places. The archbishop keeps a sharp eye on tem-

those excommunicated. The matter was quashed by the archbishop upon the arrival of a royal decree appointing him governor *ad interim* (July, 1761). Orendaín was liberated and the records of the case sent to Madrid. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 7-9.

[117] See account of this revolt in VOL. XLVIII.

poral and spiritual matters, during the entire time of the epidemic. The general calamity is still further heightened by a violent typhoon which occurs on October 12 of this year, when the epidemic is at its worst. Relief to both is accorded through the many supplications made to heaven. The epidemic spreading through the provinces, the measures for spiritual and temporal relief are extended thither. In the middle of the month of December the archbishop begins to suffer from a disease of the eyes which lasts for more than two months, which obliges him to use a signet seal instead of writing his name, in order that the business of the country might not cease. January 20, the anniversary of the birth of the king is held with great solemnity, and despite his affliction, the archbishop fulfils his share in the ceremonial celebrations. It is learned that Auditor Francisco Villacorta has not been present at the celebration because his carriage has been detained at the palace-door leading to the living apartments of the governor, and where the archbishop-governor has prohibited entrance on account of his illness, the Audiencia using the other or general door. As punishment for his non-attendance he is ordered to remain a prisoner in his house and threatened with a fine. This gives occasion for a breach between the official and the archbishop-governor. In the following month are held the celebrations in honor of our Lady of Guadalupe, the ceremonies being both ecclesiastical and social.[118] Among the latter are three afternoons given up to bullfights, "which was properly an entertainment, without any fear of danger, for the bulls hereabout are not courageous and fierce like those of

[118] See Anda's letter to the archbishop, *ante*, pp. 156-158.

both Españas," and anyone could indulge in the sport, even the unskilled. There are also musical entertainments and dancing which are designed chiefly for the ladies. The illness of the archbishop, however, compels him to hold aloof from the celebration. During Lent and the three days of jubilee in honor of the coronation of the pope, the proper ceremonies are observed, but the archbishop's illness allows him to take but little part in them.]

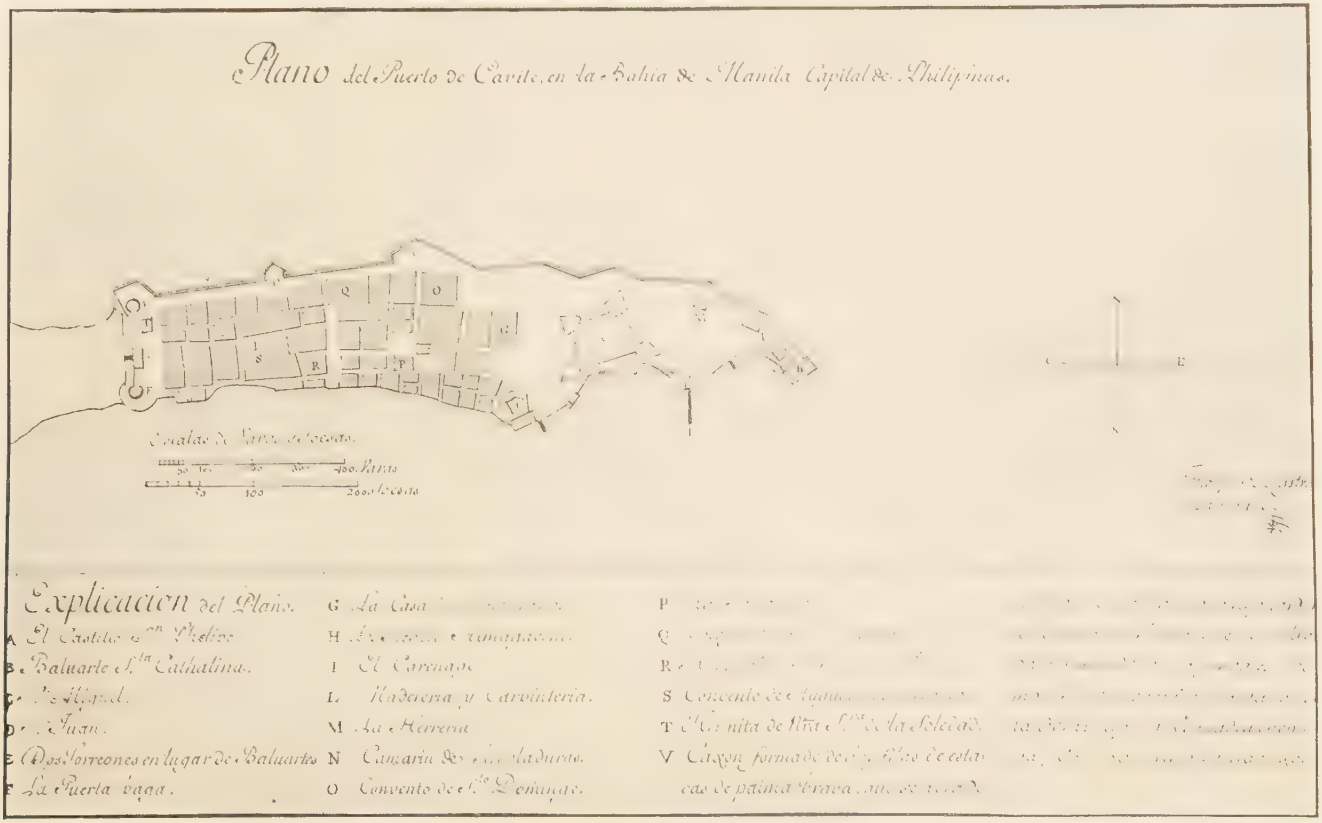
16. Since the archbishop assumed the responsibility, at the beginning of his government, of the many measures which were necessary for the fulfilment of that post, among various others to which he attended, he set his gaze and hand to the navy which was both in a backward state and important. He immediately endeavored to get boats, and was able to purchase three galleys – one a large one, and two small – and two champans. He gave order and money to the new alcalde-mayor of Pangasinan for two galleys and two champans; to the alcalde-mayor of Sorsogon for two more galleys, and sent him a shipbuilder; to the alcalde-mayor of Orani and Zambales order and money for a like number of the above-mentioned boats. Since he also had an order from his Majesty to construct two fragatas of fifty cannons, this was the chief thing to which he turned his attention. Having been informed of the great amount of wood which had been collected for this purpose by Mariscal Arandia, in the two cuttings which he had ordered in various places, and that said wood was for the most part used, and that at the moment of the conclusion of his government, his successor had had the cutting stopped, the archbishop again established them, in the districts which were found to be most

suitable. Consequently, methodically and economically, the necessary timber was collected for a fragata, and the speedy sending of a like amount or more for the other fragata.

[All the preparations having been made, the work is started in the shipyards at Cavite, whither the archbishop goes in person. In that city he is royally entertained by the castellan of the fort, two bull-fights being arranged for him, and musical concerts being given nightly during the five or six days of his stay there. The archbishop while there spends his time as follows: in the morning he celebrates mass, and goes to others attended by his suite, among whom are Manuel Galban, the auditor, and Francisco Viana, the fiscal; visits the royal storehouses, and the walls which are being repaired; during the remainder of the afternoon, if there is time, he visits the environs of the village; and at the time of the Angelus goes to the church where there is music. Thence, preceded by the musicians, he goes to his apartments where he listens to a concert until nine, at which hour he sups. Many complaints are made of this, as well as of the festivities in the palace at Manila and the time which he spends in his summer residence of Nagtahan, where he passes the hot months, namely, April, May, and a part of June. By his efforts to construct a navy, the archbishop believes that he is doing his duty. He plans to restrain the Moros from their raids, and has the coasts of the Visayan Islands guarded.]

19. . . . But the embassy of the sultan of Mindanao happening to come almost at the same time as that of Ba[n]tilan, who is governing the islands of the sultan of Jolo,[119] both with propositions

[119] See VOLS. XLIII and XLVIII; appendices in vol. ii of Montero


Plano del Puerto de Cavite en la Bahia de Manila Capital de Philipinas.
Escalas de Varas de Castilla.
Explicacion del Plano.
A El Castillo de S.n Phelipe
B Baluarte de S.ta Cathalina.
C Hospital.
D S.n Juan.
E Dos Torreones en lugar de Baluartes
F La Puerta vaga.
G La Casa
H
I El Carenage
L Madereria y Carpinteria.
M La Herreria
N Cauzaria &
O Convento de S.to Domingo.
P
Q
R
S Cementerio de Yngleses
T Ermita de Nra S.ra de la Soledad.
V Caxon formado de

Plan of the port of Cavite and its fortifications, by Tomás de Castro y Andrade, 1762(?)

[*From original MS. map (in colors) in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

of peace, and of valuable conditions, it was becoming very apparent that many advantages would accrue to our side, and the hostility of the Moros be kept in check.

20. In regard to what was advised and ordered by his Majesty, the archbishop received these two embassies, and that from Jolo, with the previous consent and pleasure of the king of said island, Don Fernando I, who was greatly obliged by this attention, as well as by others which the archbishop had observed toward him. For the archbishop had given him a house and a carriage within the city, and had taken him from the most unworthy lodgings where he lived in the royal fort, because of having recognized the need of repairing it and having begun said work.

21. The ambassador or envoy from Bantilan incited said Don Fernando to petition and repeat his writings to the archbishop, so that his cause which had been so long delayed might be reviewed. This cause was so foggy and laden with many knotty and ancient points which having been examined and an extract having been made in regard to the whole matter, the archbishop sent it for a consultative vote to the royal assembly and in view of what the assembly stated in regard to their duty to declare him free from prison and with the authorization to be able to go to his kingdom, the archbishop reserved his con-

y Vidal's *Piratería*; Barrantes's *Guerras piraticas*, appendix: for the negotiations between the king of Joló, and his brother Bantilan, and the Spaniards and English respectively. The king Ali-Mudin and his son were taken to Joló by Brereton when the British forces evacuated Manila in 1764. The king abdicated in favor of his son Israel. Thereupon, the Joloans divided into two factions, one in favor of the English and the other, headed by Israel, against them (Montero y Vidal's *Piratería*, i, p. 338).

sent, taking the time to arrange the voyage of said Don Fernando and his son, Prince Isrrael; and having taken measures in regard to his embarcation, and the other necessary things, fixing the voyage for November of that same year 1762: the preliminaries of peace were given and concluded, and the new and voluntary proposition of the said king and his son, signed by both. In it they conceded that the Spaniards could have a settlement and build their fort in their principal island of Jolo. In the meanwhile, the principal fortress of said island was to be surrendered to them as a mark of the confidence that they had in them and of the love which they professed to so good a king as the Catholic monarch. Also, in the island of Basilan the Spaniards were to be allowed to place their fortress. He ceded other distant islands which would be freely surrendered, and which were of no use to them. No other nation was to be permitted to settle in his kingdom without the consent of the Catholic king. All was accepted with the reservation of the rights of his Catholic Majesty, to whom a report was to be made.

22. The other ambassador from Mindanao proposed, and it also appeared in the letters from his sultan, that he would cede Sebugay, where he was stationed, as he was minded to move to another part of his possessions. He would maintain the ancient peace of his ancestors with the Spaniards, and would aid them against the other Moros, if they gave him arms. Nothing was concluded with this envoy, because, although the proposals were advantageous, while the archbishop was giving the matter his attention, and although he was pushing the matter urgently, the unexpected surprise of the English

occurred. That also occasioned this great harm that our islands would have remained in security, and with precautions so that they might not be invaded by the Moros, who have ruined them for so long a time; and with the above-mentioned project for the settlement of the Spaniards in Jolo, the settlement which the English claimed and agreed upon with Bantilan would have been annulled. But everything was frustrated because divine ordination must prevail over human ideas.

23. During that time also the disturbance which was roused up against the Society of Jesus was quieted, some anonymous and libelous writings being scattered and read freely, and now prohibited with two others of new writings in these islands, which insulted it even to excess. By means of an edict and censure that was fulminated, these infernal stigmas were taken back, and the author of the two above-mentioned writings having been discovered, namely, a regular, he was corrected by means of his prelate, who without being induced and with only the notice had begun to punish him; and it was necessary to moderate that prelate because of the exhaustion and great age of the culprit who now recognized his error. So much the more did the archbishop push this matter as it was apparent to him, and he had experienced the truly apostolic zeal of that order in these parts, and that its workers watched with their accustomed spirit and fervor in all that concerned the good of souls; and in the visit of the archbishopric, they labored with the archbishop with great fruit and his consolation. Because of their merit, and through his long and very intimate experience of the wisdom and spirit of those religious, he

wrote to his Holiness who has protected them so greatly in their adverses. He stated to his Holiness what his conscience dictated to him in favor and approval of those evangelical workers and peculiar coadjutors of the bishops. But this letter perished with the others in the captured ship "La Trinidad." . . .

[24]. At the same time and at the beginning of his government, noting the orders that his Majesty had given and the extreme need of his royal works for rebuilding or repairing them, the archbishop sent master workmen and intelligent men to report on their condition. In view of their inspection and in accordance with what they themselves discovered, after a thorough inspection, those men stated the need because of the ruin which was threatened, either in whole or in part, of said buildings, with danger to those who lived in them and with their dread and uneasiness. In consideration of that, after investigations and contracts with the masters of the art, he proceeded to the adjustment of each one, under bonds to grant them their pay in three instalments, one-third at the beginning of the work, another third when it was half done, and the last third at its completion. Thus was a good beginning made in them all, and some of them were half finished, in which condition they were overtaken by the event of the war, for all would have been finished during the first three months of the following year.

[The royal works needing repair are the hospital, the royal college of Santa Potenciana, the college of San Phelipe, and the royal fort of Santiago; and the sum necessary to be expended on them is slightly in excess of forty thousand pesos. The wall of Cavite

is also in a very bad condition, repeated complaints of which have been made to the government, and to which the archbishop cannot turn a deaf ear. The terrible hurricane of October 12, 1761, has damaged the walls still more. Plans are drawn up by the engineers, to put which in operation would cost one hundred and fifty thousand pesos, and would take more than eight years. But because of the expense and time necessary, the engineers are told to discuss a new plan, and accordingly propose a double stockade of palma brava, which can be constructed for ten thousand pesos and which will last at least fifteen years. This plan is followed and is nearing completion when the English enter. The cracks in the walls of Manila are stopped up, but the war with the English shows its weakness, for it has been built, not so much to withstand artillery and civilized warfare, as the attacks of Moros. It is designed to repair the esplanades of the walls and the gun carriages mounted thereon, but the English arrive before the stone and timber for it can be gathered. Twenty men are kept busy, for more than two months, polishing the one thousand two hundred muskets formerly brought by Governor Arandia, which have become very rusty. Various other measures are taken to bring up the military strength of the city, which is in a wretched state so far as defense is concerned. The treasury enters upon a new life with the assumption of government by the archbishop, for although it has but ten thousand pesos from the new tax, and the sums left by the bishops [*espolios*] in 1761, by September 22, 1762, when the English appear (and the annual situado has not yet arrived), it has 138,633 pesos 5 tomins, 6 granos. This sum in-

cludes 36,897 pesos, 5 tomins, 6 granos, in espolios, 40,000 pesos, which the executor of the property of Governor Arandia is ordered to deposit there so that a pious foundation may receive the sum left it by the abovesaid governor, and over 60,000 pesos belonging to the treasury by right. Payments are prompt, and by the methods adopted many losses are avoided. So far as possible, definite times are set aside for the administration of justice and government matters. Two serious matters, especially noteworthy because of their difficulty, are settled by the archbishop. The first is the case of Dr. Santiago Orendain, who was proceeded against by the predecessor of Rojo, the bishop-governor Espeleta, the case being managed by Francisco Villacorta, one of the auditors. The archbishop settles the matter, (which had assumed so vast proportions that Villacorta has been excommunicated), but it breaks out again. Orendain asks for a review of his case, which is concerned with the administration of the funds of the *Cruzada*[120] of which

[120] "The most singular of these imposts, however, is the Crusade. It was born in the ages of folly and fanaticism during which millions of Europeans set forth to wear themselves out in the East for the recovery of Palestine. The court of Rome revived it in favor of Ferdinand, who in 1509 undertook to wage war against the Moors of Africa. It still exists in Spain, where it is never less than 12 sols 6 deniers, or more than 4 livres. One pays more dearly for it in the New World, where it is collected only once in two years, and where it rises from 35 sols to 13 livres, according to the rank and fortune of the citizens. For this sum, people obtained the liberty of being absolved by their confessors from crimes reserved to [the cognizance of the] pope and the bishops; the right to use on days of abstinence certain forbidden articles of food; and a multitude of indulgences for sins already committed or which might be committed. The government did not strictly oblige its subjects to take this bull, but the priests refused the consolations of religion to those who neglected or disdained it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently courageous or enlightened to brave this ecclesias-

he has been treasurer, and the archbishop accordingly examines the records which fill over five thousand folios. Orendain is at last declared free after two years' imprisonment. The archbishop quashes the case by his decree of November 27, 1761, as he is anxious to restore harmony, and orders the records sent to the king. The fiscal, Francisco Viana, appeals to Auditor Simon de Anda, who has recently come to the islands, and the matter is again stirred up, but it is at length disposed of definitely, and the records ordered sent to the king.[121] The other case is a dispute with Simon de Anda y Salazar in regard to the power of a single auditor to act as the entire Audiencia in the absence of other auditors, in the issuing of royal provisions. This special case arises over the property of the late governor Arandia, in regard to which the judge of the property of deceased persons has recourse to the royal Audiencia. Anda, on coming to the islands, takes up the case, and Auditor Davila falling mortally ill, he endeavors to take entire charge of the matter, even to the issuing of a royal provision. This the archbishop-governor opposes on the grounds that Anda may not issue such provisions alone. Although law 180 of the título regarding audiencias allows one auditor to act as the

tical censure." (Raynal, *Établissemens et commerce des Européens*, ii, pp. 310, 311.)

[121] Orendaín was a mestizo (a lawyer by profession) and maintained cordial relations with Diego Silán, the insurgent; and the communication of the latter may easily have taken place under his auspices. He bought the Augustinian convent and its library which were sold by the English with the understanding that if the latter abandoned the country, the religious could not claim their property. Embarking with the English after the peace, he was killed in Cochinchina by order of the king of that country. Vivar's *Relación*, p. 299, note.

See also *ante*, p. 121, note 64.

Audiencia in case of the absence of the other auditors, that auditor cannot determine matters finally, and despatch royal provisions; as other laws of the same título forbid that. Among such laws are 62, 63, of título xv, book ii, and as well, 88, 106, *et seq.*, and 111.[122] Notwithstanding Anda's wrath, the arch-

[122] The laws above mentioned are as follows:

Law lxii: "We declare that the appointment of those who are to be judges of the causes and suits, which are handled in our royal Audiencias, belongs to the viceroys and presidents of them, in those cases, which by virtue of our cedulas, or in any other cases shall arise; and this must be observed in accordance with what is the practice in our councils and Audiencias of these kingdoms of Castilla." [Felipe III, Madrid, March 28, 1620.]

Law lxiii: "The appointment of the judge who is to supply the absence of auditors because of their death or inability, for the determination of matters with the auditor remaining in the Audiencia, belongs to the president of the Audiencia. This is to be the rule on all the occasions that arise, any ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding." [Felipe IV, Madrid, September 30, 1634.]

Law lxxxviii: "We declare and order that, in our Audiencias of the Indias, the least sum for the examination and determination of suits shall be and shall be considered to be three hundred thousand maravedis; and that if the sum do not exceed that amount, suits may be examined and determined by two auditors whose votes must be in harmony in every respect. Two auditors may also try and sentence, in all instances, suits representing a greater sum, in the same manner, except the Audiencias of Mejíco and Lima. In those Audiencias it is our will that three votes be unanimous in every particular in order to try and sentence suits representing a greater sum, as is prescribed by the laws of these our kingdoms of Castilla." [Cárlos I, in the new laws of 1542; Felipe II, Aranjuez, September 24, 1568; Felipe IV, Madrid, September 22, 1626.]

Law cvi: "We order and command that when the auditors agree upon the sentence, they summon the clerk of the cause, and secretly order him to write before them the points and the effect of the sentence which they are to give. It shall be set down there and written neatly, and shall be signed before it is pronounced; or at least when it shall be pronounced, it shall be brought in written neatly and be signed by all who were in the assembly, although the vote or votes of one or some may not conform to the contents of the sentence. Consequently, at least in ordinary matters, the sentence shall not be pronounced until it is

bishop maintains good relations with him, and seeks ever to propitiate him, acting so throughout with the other auditors and the fiscal. Since entering upon his government, it has been the custom of the archbishop to invite all classes of people to his mass, in order thereby to promote sociability and restrain complaints and disturbances. The people of Manila are "only busy for two or three months each year, getting ready their bales for the Acapulco ship, and during the rest [of the year] recline at ease. This ease is the pillow and stimulus of other vices, and one of the effects which is experienced is the multitude of clerks, and the huge amounts of copying paper which are consumed throughout the year, especially during the time of the above-mentioned despatch. Since from a few days after his arrival at this city, the archbishop realized that the discord and complaints of Christian charity arose from that vice of laziness, and that already the dominant vice was the painful detriment of souls, he began to use the arms of the Church against the terrible Goliath." For this purpose he begins a mission, in which the love of God and one's neighbor is preached. The doctrine is also

agreed upon and written neatly and signed. After it shall be published, it cannot be changed in any wise. The clerk shall immediately give in the court a copy of it to the party if he asks it, under penalty of a fine of two pesos for the courts." [Cárlos I, and the queen regent, Madrid, July 12, 1550, ordinance 14, concerning Audiencias; Felipe II, in said ordinances, no. 144.]

Law cxi: "The auditors of our Audiencias where there are no alcaldes of crime, shall try criminal causes in the first instance in the city where the Audiencia resides, and five leguas about it, provided that the prison orders are assigned by at least two auditors." [Cárlos I and the queen regent, 1530.]

Laws cvii-cxix refer to the manner of signing sentences; law cx relates to the action of the Audiencia outside the five-legua district.

explained throughout the year every Sunday in one of the three churches assigned for that purpose. After the archbishop assumes the government of the islands his custom of expounding the doctrine is not abated but rather increased; and he keeps a careful watch over all ecclesiastical dispositions.]

Part Second. Of occurrences immediate to the siege in the year 62; and of the measures taken during that time; and those following the siege until the year 63.

1. In due time, namely, at the beginning of May, a galley was despatched to the Embocadero with the fitting aid to meet and assist the ship "Philipino" which was on its return from Acapulco. In the middle of May, another galley was despatched for the same purpose, so that after having met the said ship and after having left it with the other galley in San Jacinto, it might proceed to Cobadonga and the island of Leyte. For a long time no authentic news had come from that place except the ravages of the horrible epidemic which had caused a great mortality, and among the deceased was the alcalde-mayor. A person was sent in the said galley to take his place with the fitting instructions. That person was to repair the casualties which might have occurred, by aiding those stricken with the plague in the same manner prescribed by the general measure for all the islands as abovesaid.

2. Shortly after a despatch was made to Calamianes, by a lesser alcalde for another official, in charge of that so important post which is located at the point of Paragua, where the construction of a fort had been commenced during the term of the preceding gov-

ernor, and concluded in that of the archbishop. The latter sent some recruits and some necessary supplies by that one. Then he also despatched an intelligent and well-instructed alcalde to the place called Bugason,[123] which abounds in people and rice, and which could not be well administered by the alcalde of Yloylo, nor be conveniently stocked with food at Samboangan: for the expenses and difficulties were doubled in conducting the fruits and royal treasury to said capital, whence it was separated under the suitable measures, which made manifest the need and utility of that separation, advantageous for the royal treasury of the above-mentioned presidio of Samboanga, and very convenient for preventing them from giving shelter to the Moros in those districts.

3. The reception of the returning ship and of the one despatched annually to Acapulco,[124] is the entire occupation of this commerce and of the inhabitants [of this community]. It holds and calls the attention of the governors considerably. The latter begins to despatch measures for the careening of the ship and other things for its preparation, at the beginning of the year. There was no other ship than the very large one called "La Trinidad"[125] of which advice was given to the merchants in regard to the cargo. Its keel having been inspected, and the ship careened

[123] A village on the west coast of Panay.

[124] See Anson's description of the voyage of the Acapulco galleon, Kerr's *Hist. and coll. of voyages* (Edinburg and London, 1824), xi, pp. 406-411.

[125] This vessel made three efforts to make the voyage. In the second it lost its topmasts. Having refitted with spare masts, it sailed again on October 2. Struck by a severe storm, the vessel lost its masts again near the Ladrones, thus necessitating its return to the Philippines. See Le Gentil, ii, pp. 224, 225.

fully, as it was apparent to the archbishop because of the inspection which the merchants made, that they did not wish or could not prepare hastily more than one thousand piezas; and having completed the distribution or allotment of the tickets in the best manner that this labyrinth of entanglements, complaints, and vileness permits, they began to stow the cargo in the ship, and although it was a small cargo, they were retarded greatly by the vendabals which began at the end of June.

4. At that time happened two events of little importance and considerable bulk, which the archbishop expedited easily. One was in regard to the master of the silver collecting the chests, according to the new order of his Majesty, and the owners not taking them to the palace, where they had formerly been gathered, whither he agreed; and in regard to this matter also, the representation of the commissary of the Inquisition, a person of learning and probity, who was well considered because of his merit and the due respect to the holy tribunal. But by the demand of the city and the register being already shut away, the chests containing it had to be opened for the necessary note of those who had not been included in said register.

5. The other event was that four merchants of the said city having prepared some bales, the city delayed giving them audience in order that they might obtain permission to register it. The hold being about ready to be closed, they went to the archbishop. The latter granted them license to embark some bales, on condition that the tickets of the poor which were left could be accommodated. The others were to be for the benefit of the royal treasury. The

outcry and clamor of the city, which held many consultations, was great, and greater in their letters to the viceroy and his Majesty, with ill-founded complaints that they were deprived of liberty in regard to asking more or less cargo space. But the archbishop, having been well informed regarding the royal orders, and aware that the true motive for anger was the rivalry of the merchants to their other associates, and the application of the tickets to the royal treasury, he convinced those of the city of these puerilities and the papers which they had written in opposition were effectively withdrawn and they asked that the archbishop should so do. He had only advised the viceroy on account of the attempt of the merchants, in order that said number of piezas might not be confiscated. In fact the merchants were convinced, and satisfied, and thanked the archbishop.

6. With its small cargo of one thousand one hundred and forty-eight piezas, this ship was able to sail from the port of Cavite, August 1. That same day the vendavals returned with greater force than ever (and winds which are contrary for leaving the mouth of this bay) and they blew with tenacity and without intermission all through August. And although the pilots did their best, and in fact once did get out through the mouth, they anchored at the islet of Fortuna, and had to return to the bay and take shelter behind the mountains of Cabcave.[126]

7. The anxiety caused by this delay obliged the archbishop to call a meeting of the best pilots, and examine the ancient papers in regard to the direction of the ship at departure, to see whether it was through the Embocadero, or by way of Cabo Bojea-

[126] Point Cabcabe, located on the southeast coast of Bataan.

dor which lies at the northern end of this island. With the assistance of the fiscal and other intelligent persons, the pilots believed that the course by way of Cabo Bojeador was more expeditious and advantageous, if the ship left at the latest by the beginning of July; but, if it were despatched, as usually happened, at the end of July, or in August, it was to be feared that the terrible typhoons or hurricanes of the China Sea which reach as far as the said cape and farther, would carry it away. Consequently, it was more advisable for the said ship to pursue its voyage through the Embocadero, and the vendavals would be favorable to it until they left it, and farther until they reached the Marianas. It was not late, for other ships had left at the beginning of September. This opinion, having been attested, was sent to the commander of the ship so that the pilots might be informed of it. The ship left the mouth in fact on the third of September, and reached San Jacinto in four days, where it took wood and water aboard, and where it was overtaken by two boats or champans with the reënforcement of food, sails, and other supplies, which had been asked and which they would need. They sailed from the Embocadero on the thirteenth of said month with a favoring wind. But when they had sailed three hundred leguas, they were met by a most violent storm. We shall discuss this misfortune in due time.

8. On the fourteenth of the said month of September word was received from the river of Cañas, in a latitude a short distance from the islet of Fortuna, that a ship and its boat had been seen in said river. That piece of news communicated by two Indians, caused great anxiety in Manila, and people

Plan of Mariveles Bay, 1764, in collection of *Charts* by Alexander Dalrymple ([London], 1781)

[*From copy in Library of Congress*]

variously conjectured as to whether it were the "Philipino" or whether the "Trinidad" had put back, or perhaps whether it were some foreign ship. Order was immediately given for an official to go from Cavite to prove the news, and follow the ship as far as possible. But after three days of this diligence, and the ship had not been found, it was asserted that another ship had been seen in Mariveles. Through the neglect of the alcalde-mayor of Orani, in not having imparted this news immediately, as he must have had bantayes[127] or bajias in Mariveles, he was ordered to be imprisoned, and an official put in his place. Without delay a message [*cordillera*] was despatched through all the Embocadero, ordering people to be on their guard, as a ship, whose destination and nationality were unknown, had been seen. If the "Philipino" had already entered, it was to be advised (and a letter was written to the commander with this order) not to enter by the bay, but by Sorsogon, Camarines, or any other place, in order to discharge its silver and despatches, and to be on the lookout, and give full report of everything. This order was duplicated within three days, and a galley was being prepared with an official already appointed and the instruction advisable for this same measure. But on going to execute it, and on embarking with the galley, on the afternoon of September 22, it was frustrated by the sudden entrance into the bay, at five in the afternoon of the same day, of the English squadron.

9. The entrance of this squadron composed of

[127] *Bantay* is the Tagálog word for sentinel, and in the text is given a Spanish plural. See Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario*.

thirteen ships, which formed in line and with wind or easter astern, entered and took possession of the bay, surprised our minds greatly. They stretched from the middle of the bay in a circle to the point called Sangley. The confusion of Manila and its environs with so unlooked-for a squadron, in an unprepared place can not be imagined. The people ran through the streets. Those of the suburbs came into the city, those of the city went outside, and there were some persons (as was learned afterward), who started immediately for the mountains and for Laguna. The archbishop could do no less than be surprised, and much more the chief inhabitants and auditors who surrounded him. But it was immediately resolved to write to the leader of the squadron, and that was done with courtesy, asking him his nationality and destination and granting him port and provisions according to his need and the custom of civilized nations.

10. In the meanwhile, one of the most pressing anxieties and one of danger was attended to, in regard to a large amount of powder, stored in what is called the powder works [*polverista*], where it is manufactured, and which is three-quarters of a legua from the city along the beach. But in the morning of the following day, a great portion of it remained to be brought, and the archbishop found it necessary to go a-horseback accompanied by his Majesty's fiscal and several others. At twelve o'clock, this task was really finished, in which there was necessarily a great waste of this material. When they reëntered, some of the ships were almost within cannon-shot, and were threatening in that direction, which is toward the south, with respect to the city.

11. The reply of the generals was, with their letter or challenge, arrogant, and to the effect that Manila and its forts should be surrendered to the king of Gran Bretaña, from whose power the most remote possessions of the Catholic king were not free, whose court, through its evil conduct, had proclaimed war against Ynglaterra. If the Spaniards of Manila were not infatuated, they would surrender, in order not to experience the severity of their powerful arms.

12. In view of this arrogance, the archbishop, in general council, made the answer that was dictated by the zeal, love, and loyalty to his king and sovereign, namely, that they would sacrifice their lives in defense of his arms and domains, and that they would make all the defense possible.[128] They wondered at the so unlooked-for news, and the first notice they had of the declaration of war, was that given by the said generals with these threats and armed hand and squadron. Having given the measures ordering the provinces to come to the aid of the capital promptly, and those which exigency permitted, having considered the few regular troops, and having given the musters for the militia companies, the city suffocated with the consternation of the conflict to which it was pledged, and which was so necessary, was placed in a state of defense.

13. On the night of that day, the enemy began to disembark toward the south. The Indians of the said places of the environs were not able to resist the fire from their boats and ships. The people in those places got under shelter of two regular companies

[128] A minute of the council of war held September 25, 1762, signed by Ramon de Orendaín, with names of those attending and the decision pronounced by the archbishop is contained in a MS. owned by Edward E. Ayer.

who were obliged to retire. The enemy found all they could need for their rearguard and trenches in the strong edifices of the churches of Malate and of Nuestra Señora de Guia, whence without loss of time, and with ease they surrounded and took possession of the equally strong churches of San Tiago and San Juan de Bagumbayan, whence it became necessary for our men to retire. And although our men made three sallies, the enemy were only driven out for a little time from the last place. In the last sally, especially, their attack was arranged in three different parts in order to kill some people, but with greater mortality on our part, and through the inequality of arms and discipline, ours yielded ground notwithstanding that the native troops who had come in from the neighboring provinces, were now very numerous.

14. Meanwhile, a few clashes occurred, that of greatest consequence being the death of an English officer who had left their camp with a white flag and came toward our camp, and whom our natives attacked without anyone being able to restrain them. They assassinated him and hacked his body into many pieces. In the endeavor to shelter him, Don Antonio de Sierra Tagle, the nephew of the archbishop, received many mortal wounds from lance thrusts, from which he died in a few days. He was a prisoner,[129] and knowing him to be a relative, the generals sent him back with the above-mentioned unfortunate officer. The said generals learning of that assassination and mutilation, through the infraction

[129] In our original the word is *pasionero*, which is "one who sings the passion during holy week." It seems probable that it is an error of the amanuensis for *prisionero*, "prisoner."

also of the symbol of peace (a white flag), demanded the aggressors, with the threat that if the demand were not accorded, they would send back the heads of the officers whom they had captured. But the archbishop having ordered an investigation of the matter, it resulted that the Spaniards were not to blame, and that they had ceased firing, and all hostility, on seeing the symbol of peace. Notwithstanding this the sepais [*i.e.*, Sepoys] continued their fire, on account of which the Indians in irritation, committed that assassination. With the letter and testimony of those investigations, which the archbishop wrote to the general, the matter seemed to be dropped.

15. The English made their trenches in a short time and mounted their artillery and began to bombard the city at the bastion of the foundry, as their fire was insufficient to reach the bastion of Carranza,[130] and the active efforts which were able to be made in order to undo their labors and dislodge them [*i.e.*, the British]. Of not a little importance (amid the inequality of forces and of practiced soldiers) was the form in a cordon of some people of this vicinity who were considered most fitting, and of some of the natives of the environs from the site of Pasay which is at the south near the powder factory to that of San Lazaro, which lies to the east. The archbishop took that precaution, as it was very necessary, in order to guard the Pasig River at the point

[130] According to manuscript maps in the archives of the Indies, at Seville, by the engineer Feliciano Márquez, dated September 30, 1767; and the pilot Francisco Xavier Estorgo, of 1770, the bastion of Carranza is another name for the bastion of San Andrés. An Irish pilot named Raymond Kelly was killed by the British while defending this bastion (see *Sitio y conquista*, p. 61).

where the provisions are traded, and to obtain some opposition against the enemy. The fire of the latter, by means of their land and ship artillery, and their bombarding, in which the bombs fired exceeded four thousand, and the number of balls of twenty-four, a trifle more, threw the city and all its inhabitants into great consternation. On that account, and because the breach [in the walls] was begun to be opened, in a general council on the night of the third of October, what ought to be done in such a conflict was discussed.[131]

16. Although the military men thought that they ought to capitulate, other reputable votes were against it. One of them, namely, the fiscal,[132] asked the engineer and military men, if what they said was [to be understood as] in the present, and if they were

[131] At the council held on the third of October, it was proposed that the women, children, and aged be sent out of Manila. It was also proposed that the governor, courts, and most of the citizens withdraw, leaving the city in charge of a leader with instructions for its defense or surrender. The fiscal recommended system and order in the matter of provisions and supplies, and the advisability of assigning pay to the Indians. But no decided action was taken as many disputes marked the council. The religious were, however, urged to look after the Indians, and aid in the defense of the walls, being permitted in case the city was indefensible, to capitulate, as well as to spike the cannon. Reports of this council, and the ones held on October 26 and 27, and the reply of the officials to the archbishop on October 23, are to be found in an original MS. owned by Edward E. Ayer. An extract from the council of the third is given by Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 24, 25, note; and one from the council of the twenty-sixth, appendix, pp. 584-587. See also *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 56, 57.

[132] The fiscal Viana, in a deposition made July 6, 1764, attests his losses by the sack of Manila in 1762. He lost his silver service, best clothing, and other things, all amounting to a value of about 4,000 pesos. In the "Santisima Trinidad" he lost 600 pesos. From the beaterio of Santisima Trinidad was also taken a trunk full of silver plate and money belonging to Viana. (From an original MS. belonging to Edward E. Ayer.)

to proceed immediately to the capitulation. Receiving the negative answer, he, following the advice of others, counseled defense. In view of everything and the rest which appears in said council, the archbishop gave the orders, which appear in the records, in regard to the work, labor, and the defensive works, with the provision of materials, workmen, and foremen, giving charge of these operations to the engineers, and having appointed the chiefest military men to the most important posts, and having ordered their vigilance in regard to the operations of the enemy. But nothing sufficed, for, redoubling their fire, on the following day, and adding bombs, which they discharged with their fire, which caught in two buildings, to which it was so necessary to hasten, the day and its night passed in moments of confusion and agony. At six in the morning of the fifth of the above-mentioned October of 62,[133] having gained possession of its breach and of the bastion of the foundry,[134] the English extended their troops along both sides of the wall, and another column through the royal gate which they forced; so that there was nothing else for the archbishop to do than to wave the white flag and retire to the fort of San Tiago with the ministers, and some officials and citizens. Notwithstanding that he knew nothing of militia, and

[133] Draper sent forty Frenchmen ahead the morning of the assault to fill up the ditch with the ruins of the bastion; to examine whether there was any ditch which impeded their passage; and communicate everything by signs. This duty was accomplished satisfactorily, for they met no obstacle. See Mas, i, p. 131.

[134] The column that occupied the wall by the left of the foundry took possession of everything as far as the bastion of the gate of Santa Lucía. The greater part of the people were killed, and the gate of Santiago alone was left free. See *Sitio y conquista*, p. 61.

had never seen such functions, and had at his side none but equally inexperienced men, and one or two officials who had scarcely any knowledge more than was speculative, yet as God aided, and the loyalty of our hearts, he did what he could and what he comprehended.

17. Before this misfortune befell that of the capture of the galley which had been despatched by the commander of the "Philipino," with notice of its return from Acapulco and that it had put back to the village of Palapa. Two days after the siege began, namely, on the twenty-fourth of September, the galley entered the bay and came within sight of the squadron (of which it had no news). A fragata gave it chase and several barcas, it having been beached already toward the north in Bancusay. Although some of those who came in it were able to escape by swimming, its officers and the abovementioned Don Antonio Sierra Tagle were captured. The enemy took possession of everything in the galley, and of many letters from which they gathered information of the "Philipino" and of the place where the latter lay. Two days later they sent a fragata and a ship in order to capture it; for the day before they had been joined by a ship and two fragatas which had become separated, or could not follow the squadron.

18. From some quite damp letters, among them that of the commander of the "Philipino," which had been carried by those who escaped by swimming, the archbishop learned (and it was the first news) that the "Philipino" was in Palapa; that it had been unable to enter by way of the Embocadero because of stormy weather; and that on leaving Aca-

pulco, by a letter of the viceroy to the commander, the latter had learned of the breaking out of war with Ynglaterra, and he was advised to have a care. Consequently, he must have come with that information; but said commander knew nothing of what was happening in Manila. In view of all things, and with the unanimous opinion of auditors and principal citizens, a letter was written to the commander, giving him an order to fortify himself in Palapa, and to land the silver and chests. Fortifying himself as well as possible in said port, which is very difficult to get at, and only very experienced persons know its entrances, which with but slight work can be made impassable, the said commander was to hold his ship in readiness for sinking by burning, if the ships of the enemy met it. This letter was sent with all care, by a person very skilful in the coasts of the Embocadero, so that it reached Palapa in a very few days. It had been duplicated as a precaution to what might happen to it at its first sending.

19. The rest that was done for the defense of the place was placed in the diary. Some measures not necessary there were stated here as belonging to the operations of the archbishop, such as those in regard to withdrawing the treasury and the commission of Auditor Don Simon de Anda. Both measures were vigorously promoted by the auditors – the first, at the request of the treasurer, Don Nicolas de Echauz[135] on the first day of the siege. Although it was at the instance of the auditors, the archbishop resisted it strongly, for the reason that the treasury could not be in better security than where there was security

[135] Ferrando gives this name as Nicolás de Ruiz (*Historia*, iv, p. 627), but all other accounts give it as Echauz.

of their lives. But reiterating their instances for various reasons, and that it was advisable under any circumstances to have placed the money outside the city, the archbishop had to comply; and ordered that some quantity having been left, the greater part should be withdrawn. Accordingly, this was done, and the sum of one hundred and eleven thousand pesos withdrawn. Of the amount left in the treasury, ten thousand pesos were paid out in order to supply the city with provisions. In regard to that various precautions were taken, and a commission was given to the fiscal, in order that he might attend to those supplies. Other sums also followed for the current expenses, all of which made the sum of twenty-four thousand pesos, account of which is to be given by the accountant, Don Fernando Carabes of whom it was demanded urgently by the archbishop.

20. The other measure in regard to Auditor Anda was passed with greater haste by the auditors themselves on the third of October. Because of the conflict in which we found ourselves, they told the archbishop that it was advisable to despatch him outside the city with the title of governor and captain-general. These titles were to be given him, in order that he might keep the natives quiet in their Christian instruction and in their obedience to the king. But notwithstanding that this measure clothed itself in so specious reasons, the archbishop answered that neither he nor the Audiencia had any authority to create a governor and captain-general, which was the proper privilege of his Majesty; and that it was enough to give him the title of visitor of the land for the so just end that was claimed (which is in accordance with the orders of his Majesty), and the title of

lieutenant of the captain-general which could be conferred on him. This was the custom followed in like commissions to ministers. Since that seemed advisable to the ministers and fiscal, it was executed with the celerity that the present conflicts demanded. Furnishing him with official paper, and a notary and advocate, the above-mentioned auditor Anda left immediately that night.[136]

21. Other operations during the time of the siege which looked to the care and watch of the city, the archbishop practiced vigilantly. For he visited the walls personally, even at night, and some of the bastions, namely that of the foundry and that of the fort. He went out daily on horseback. Accompanied by various persons he examined the gates and outside walls, the small fort, and the house of San Fernando, where, as well as through all Bancuray and Tondo, the natives who descended from the provinces lodged. Regulations were made there for them, and they were aided with provisions. The arms that it was possible to give were furnished them, and they were drilled in some manner. In short the archbishop omitted nothing in order that he might go to give the orders which appeared advisable, and personally, at the sites where his presence seemed necessary or advisable.

22. The archbishop having retired, then, as above-mentioned, into the royal fort of San Tiago, the articles of capitulation were begun to be drawn up there. They were concluded after great labor, and received the unanimous consent of the auditors and other military men and citizens who were pres-

[136] Anda was sixty-two years of age when he left Manila to undertake the defense of the provinces. See Mas, i, p. 138.

ent. The enemy already having taken possession of the city, extended their troops in two columns toward the said fort, along the walls, and other companies in front protected by the royal chapel. As a white flag was immediately flung in the fort, there was no hostility directed toward the small citadel. Two officers entered with a message from their general, demanding surrender. But within a short time the colonel of those troops appeared, and demanded an instant surrender, or one would be forced by arms. The archbishop gave him the articles of capitulation with a message to his general. He refused to receive them, and there were no means or manner to get him to receive them and take them to his general. Consequently, they had to abide by what the colonel tenaciously answered, namely, that the general's order was the one which he had already expressed, and that it was now no time to tire themselves out in demands and replies concerning the surrender.

23. At this pass, and in view of what was already passing in the presence of the archbishop in said fort, as the soldiers were throwing themselves from its esplanade and from the walls, and casting themselves into the river, and as some officers and regular troops there, who never surpassed eighty in number were also in part doing the same as the other soldiers, with not a few of the citizens; and as the said fort was in itself indefensible, and the principal curtain which looked on the city, and in front of which was the enemy, was threatening to fall into ruins; the archbishop found no other expedient in this conflict than to offer the colonel to accompany him to treat with his general in regard to the fort and surrender under his word of honor of the exemption from harm

and safety of his person. He condescended to that without any of the bystanders, or auditors who surrounded him offering to take that matter upon themselves, or even to accompany him, except the master-of-camp and another officer. With them and the said colonel, he went to the royal palace where the general had already taken up his quarters.

24. After the salutation and the respective courtesies, in which General Draper was profuse (and he showed special veneration to the archbishop), the latter handed him the articles of capitulation that had been drawn up, and which treated of the surrender of the fort. The general answered that Admiral Cornish, whom he was awaiting from his ship, must also be consulted. But after a long time with incessant interruptions because of the continual coming of the general's officers to get his orders, and of many of ours who presented themselves to him, the general said that since Cornish was giving time, the archbishop should give the order for the surrender, and that that would be best, because he knew the harshness of the nature of said admiral. Answer was made that the order would be given under all the military honors which were fitting. All these conferences passed by means of two interpreters – one in the English language, and the other in the French with a mixture of Latin in which the archbishop talked and which the general understood, although they both pronounced it in accordance with their native languages. Consequently, it was difficult for them to understand one another. Nevertheless, the archbishop comprehended, and not confusedly, that the general agreed to the condition proposed, and the archbishop gave the order for the surrender of the

fort. The latter did not properly merit this name because of its weakness, and the dislodging already mentioned, by which it could have no defense, but manifest danger of life to those who remained there, and even of those who remained in the city.

25. Great was the confusion of that day, and the grief of the fierce sack. After the sack had lasted six hours, the archbishop requested the general to forbid it, saying that neither church nor palace would be left. The general went in person to attend to this, and by the diligence of his men killed one, and maltreated another, who was wounded in an arm, and commanded three to be hanged among whom was an Indian of tender years, and it appears with small grounds as only a few balls were found on him. But as a matter of fact, the sack continued for more than thirty hours, as was asserted to the archbishop, on account of which the latter made frequent requests of the general. But in this madness of the sack, the very house servants had not a little part and guilt, taking advantage of this unfortunate occasion. And as regards the suburbs of the city, malicious persons and robbers by profession (who abound in these districts) as well as the very natives who had come from the provinces, and much more, the characteristic perversity of the Sangleys executed this destruction on the churches and many houses.[137]

[137] "Since the natives of these islands, who were living at present, had never seen war like this, and now saw with their own eyes the effects of it, namely, the change of government, the cowardice of the Castilians, and the complete upheaval of order, they were caused great surprise, and thought that the end of the world was come. Consequently, most of them, that is, the herd, not all, began to commit thefts and to commit assaults on the highway, committing many murders, rapes, and other outrages, as is usual on these occasions; especially those who had been imprisoned in the

26. The afternoon of the same day, both chiefs, Draper and Cornish, sent the archbishop the conditions under which the city would be free from the sack, the life of the citizens, and their possessions, commerce, and religion, saved, namely, by the surrender of Cavite, and the payment of four million pesos, two million to be paid at once. In this manner, they would consider the articles of the capitulation that had been signed by the archbishop, auditors, and city. Those articles were sent shortly after on the same day by the generals, approved with some restrictions as may be seen by all in their originals and in the testimonies placed in the collection of papers.

27. From that afternoon a general council was called of all estates, who met on the following morning to deliberate in regard to said conditions. The archbishop ordered all to discuss the matter of the said millions, while he was treating with the military men and auditor of war in regard to Cavite. The latter excused themselves from expressing an opinion under pretext of being prisoners of war, whereupon the archbishop wrote to the general, asking him to declare that those who were in the fort were not prisoners, and that meanwhile he could not answer regarding Cavite. But he had not despatched said letter, before he received a message from the generals in regard to the fulfilment of their conditions,

jails for crime, to whom liberty was given in order that they might be of service in this war. Notwithstanding that the English hanged very many without trial or examination, as I saw several times in this place after it was lost, where I stayed for some months. They needed no gallows, for the criminals were hanged from any window grating like bananas." From *History of the siege of Manila*, by Father Agustin de Santa María, whose MS. is conserved in the Augustinian archives of Madrid. See Mas, i, p. 135, note.

with the instant and terrible threat, that if the contrary was done, they would put them all to the sword without excepting a single person. Within a few moments the same message was repeated by means of a Siquite [Sepoy?]. Both messages were heard by all the Spaniards of the council, and by many others who were in the palace; and it was learned for certain that the order was given to the colonel, who had drawn up his troops in front of the palace, and had taken the entrances of the streets. Answer was made that a reply would be given in a very short time. The archbishop, thereupon, turning to all the abovementioned persons in the council, told them that they should determine without delay what was most advisable in regard to the millions, and that they should do it while he was deliberating with the military men regarding Cavite. The latter, with the auditor of war (forgetful of their opposition toward giving an opinion a short time before), not only gave one, by which Cavite was to be immediately surrendered, but even asked that with great insistence. Being reprimanded and asked why now they gave their opinion which they had refused so tenaciously a short time before, they answered that circumstances had changed in a few moments by the ruin that threatened all in a short time.[138] The council also resolved that the four millions should be given, the silver of the pious funds, chaplaincies etc., found existing being given immediately, while the rest demanded would be given from the wealth in the ["Philipino?" *MS. worn*]. What remained would be paid

[138] The castellan of Cavite at first refused to surrender the fort, and prepared to defend it. But the soldiers deserted and the natives began to loot the arsenal, whereupon the castellan also fled. See Mas, i, p. 136.

by his Majesty, since there was no other recourse except his royal clemency. The paper containing this proposition was signed by the archbishop, and by the auditors and chief citizens.

28. In such a predicament, in which the archbishop conceived all without any exception to be defendants and thrown into consternation, he found no other means than to agree to the above-mentioned proposition, which put in writing and signed by the chief persons, was taken by two commissaries to the generals, and also the order for the surrender of Cavite, stating that no move toward resistance would be made, and taking the precaution of sending a suitable officer for that purpose. The generals answered the commissaries that, if what they said was contained in the paper, they would allow them to ascertain that through their interpreter; and that since two of their ships had gone in search of the "Philipino," if they had already captured it, they [*i.e.*, the Spaniards] ought not to reckon on it in the payment, of which they could make use if it were not already captured. In accordance with this, a letter was to be written to the commander of the "Philipino;" and the abovesaid notice was to be executed ordering him to come from Palapa to this [city? *MS. worn*]. This letter agreed to by all the council and signed by the archbishop was shown to the generals and was despatched to [that commander?] by two of the chief inhabitants, who sent it safely; though as yet we are ignorant of its receipt, and it has been rumored that it has been intercepted on the way, and that even a contrary order has been given without us knowing by whom.

29. The sum found in the pious funds, chap-

laincies, etc., was really ascertained and delivered. There was some difference in it because of the small coins which had been clipped, and which were received by weight. To this sum was added the amount of the wrought silver of the churches (in which it appears that in some churches some of the silver was reserved). There was a measure enacted by the archbishop, in virtue of what was discussed in the general council and of present circumstances. The superiors and the administrators of said church, who were notified thereof, agreed, and they made the delivery without any answer or protest; for they saw well that, although the secular estate contributed with its interests in the "Philipino," it would be impossible to get during those days a suitable distribution among the citizens (and as it seemed), the destruction of the sack had left them without money or anything of value, as they declared. Besides all their powers could never make enough and be sufficient for the whole or half of the contribution demanded. And the silver of the churches being in sight, it was the best stimulus and incentive of greed, robbery, and of violence, and with profanation of the altars and of the sacristy, as had already been begun to be experienced, not only from the English troops, but also from the natives themselves and the domestics, and the especially covetous Sangleys. Not only did these misfortunes disturb the heart of the archbishop, but also the gloomy consideration of the Moros, those ancient enemies, who annually raided the provinces, and of whom it was conjectured that, hearing of our fatality, they would feed themselves with more audacity on their robberies, sacrileges, and piracies, as, in fact, has been experienced even in a village near

the mouth of Marivelez which is the mouth of this bay. Thence, after their accustomed molestations, they have taken one hundred captives of both sexes, and, from the island of Marinduque, they have taken one hundred persons and the Jesuit missionary of that island.

30. It befell that in order to obviate so many inconveniences, they did not hesitate in taking from the altars the silver for the redemption and relief, which was the least danger to the faithful Catholics. By this arrangement, the payment of his Majesty was reduced, from whose royal magnificence has originated the rich adornment of the churches. But the sacred vases which belong immediately to divine worship were always reserved, as were also the chalices, cups, and monstrances. In these circumstances, the archbishop voluntarily delivered all his valuables and vases without reserving his pectoral or anything else, in order to aid so far as he was concerned in the ransom of the city, and in order that he might serve as an example, so that his [*MS. worn*] might not excuse himself from contributing voluntarily whatever was possible. And as it was not proper that, in these public calamities, and of the despoliation of his own spouse, the cathedral church, he should remain with adornment and should not be deprived of everything; and although his said possessions were not of any considerable importance, he had the consolation of not reserving anything and of giving them up with good will. Of money in cash he gave none, for he had none, nor, since he has been in these islands, has he had any left from his pay and stipends, for he has spent them all in the support of his household, on the poor, and for the relief of many necessities, always

grieving at not helping them all, because excessive sums would have been required (as those necessities were many and grave). For this same reason, by order of the [English] commissary of artillery, the bells were taken down (as spoils that belonged to them) from the churches of the city and its environs. The archbishop, grieving over the loss of his charge, set his mind on ransoming the bells of the cathedral and royal chapel, but since he had not come to these islands with wealth to execute it, he gave an order against his agent in Cadiz, ordering him to pay the sum of five thousand pesos for which they were redeemed, notwithstanding that a very small sum remained in the possession of the said agent to comply with the order. But the great confidence which assists him in the above-mentioned animated the archbishop.

31. Advised of the scattering of the Spaniards since the day of the assault, and that they were going to the villages and mountain, where they were in danger from the barbarians and the revolted natives (as was experienced in many disasters, thefts, and murders), and their families in other directions not any more secure, and others in the city and its precincts, an order was issued for all to assemble and come to live in the city with those who were there. That order had little effect, for each one followed his own opinion and will, and began to lose his obedience to his superior. This was aided not a little by the example of those who by their employ and dignity ought to have given a better example.

32. Better fruit was obtained in ecclesiastical matters (although that not sufficient and advisable), for the prebendaries and some of the secular clergy

continued to assemble at the cathedral, and in the convents of the regulars some religious remained. They were requested and charged not to abandon their churches, and to endeavor to have a suitable number of subjects for the continuance of divine worship, and to be the relief and consolation of the faithful, and that they might be able to attend to their necessities in the administration of the sacraments.

33. Thus was it done for the most part, but it was not that which was advisable and sufficient to meet other casualties, which the superiors of the Society satisfied. He was the only provincial prelate who remained living [in the city], together with that of St. John of God, whose superiors and subjects complied perfectly with their respective ministries. On account of this defect, or non-existence of the superior, it appears that the persecution by the English of the Augustinian fathers or their opposition to them had no reparation; and although their provincial was indeed near Manila, his passage to the city was prevented.[139] The other superiors, although not pro-

[139] The Augustinian fathers were imprisoned in their convent, although they were permitted to leave it at times provided it should be within the city. Suddenly a counter order was given and they were deprived of that permission. It was believed that the English were making such demonstrations in order that the Augustinians might surrender to them the silver that they had hidden. But since the procurator was firm in not revealing it, they were treated as traitors because their brothers favored the side of Anda. The English collected religious to the number of twelve, and embarked them to take them to Europa. One of them was released at the request of the archbishop. After the fathers had embarked, the English entered their convent and sacked it, so that nothing was left in it. They found six thousand pesos of coined silver which had been hidden in a garden, and the wrought silver which had been concealed when the question of paying the million was discussed. They did not pardon the relics of the saints, which they threw on the ground, in order to take

vincials, met respectively what arose in their orders, but their powers did not reach to the subjects outside [the city] nor did they gain the respect of the English within. And the English qualifying as having committed excesses those Augustinian religious and others, who appeared before them, who were commanding the natives outside, proceeded to imprisonments, exiles, and confiscations of property, especially in the above-mentioned, taking possession of their church, money, valuables, and everything else that they had.[140] It is enough to have touched this point, for it would be most tedious to set forth all its particulars in detail; and it does not belong to the archbishop to qualify the facts, since each superior must give account of them to the king, our sovereign, with the religious sincerity which he professes, and to show their complaints with the same truth. But he cannot restrain his wonder as to how the father visitor and the father of this province of San Juan de Dios, the reverend Father Puga,[141] a priest, with his community attended and attends to his institute, sheltering and assisting so great a number of sick and poor amid so great calamity and so many necessities, and who not having the slight regular alms, does not fail at all to his sick, the religious aiding them. This is properly a miracle of charity. The persecution which this superior and community has suffered,

the reliquaries in which they were kept. See Martinez de Zúñiga, pp. 641, 642.

[140] In the convent of the Augustinians in Manila, the British seized 8,000 pesos in money, and 20,000 in goods. The archbishop under threats of the conquerors ordered the heads of the Augustinian order to submit to the British authorities. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 73, 76.

[141] Probably Juan Manuel Maldonado de Puga, author of *Religiosa hospitalidad*, which has appeared in our VOL. XLVII.

from the one who has taken command of the government is as painful as their patience is praiseworthy and exemplary.

34. The destruction which was experienced in the suburbs of Manila and in other more distant places, from robbery, murders, and other execrable atrocities, obliged the archbishop to endeavor to restrain the evildoers and insurgents by means of Don Josef Busto, a person of spirit and of great experience in the land, with a company of men to his satisfaction. He was ready to do it, but asked a suitable salary after he had formed his account.[142] Thereupon, the archbishop ordered that one of the citizens, who had not suffered from the sack and was wealthy, to make ready two thousand pesos which would be placed to his account and apportioned to the sum which was to be demanded from him for the contribution of the millions; and that the senior auditor, who exercised the office of auditor of war, would give the instructions and powers necessary to said Busto for the above-mentioned end. But both persons excused themselves most strongly, the above-mentioned citizen with the frivolous remark that he had nothing

[142] The archbishop offered José Pedro Busto (who had come to the islands with his friend Governor Arandía) the post of provincial in the name of the British government with a salary of 5,000 pesos per year, together with the perquisites of the office and the aid that he would need. But he refused it, and left Manila with twenty Cagayans, who accompanied him, and although pursued by mounted Sepoys, was not overtaken. Joining Anda, he became the real military arm of the opposition. At an estate held by the Jesuits in Mariquina, and where he was aided by the Jesuits, he urged the natives to resist British rule, being followed by the majority of them, whereupon he was able to attack and punish some of the ladrones of the region. He obtained many advantages by fighting in guerrila fashion. When Anda finally entered Manila as the British were about to evacuate the city, Busto accompanied him. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 85-89, *et seq.*

which he could supply, the auditor by saying that he was a prisoner of war, and a mere assessor in these matters. The first was a bit of frivolity, and the second a pretext, for when the governor is an ecclesiastic, the auditor expedites and determines by himself criminal causes which arise; and thus did it happen with the archbishop during the time of the siege and before in like causes with the same auditor. But since the reins of obedience and respect had already been broken, and there were no forces to reduce them to their duty, like other matters, this remained thus without the due remedy, and the disasters continued through insolence and libertinage.

35. During this time also, Auditor Anda had declared himself governor, captain-general, and royal Audiencia, and had despatched messages [*cordilleras*] ordering himself to be so recognized in the provinces. And he had ordered and commenced to cut off the provisions in the two districts of Bulacan and Laguna whence they come to the city. In these raids, happened the murders of natives and English in the suburbs, and the latter were mutilated and treated with other contempts suitable for barbarians. Other events had preceded with the religious of Bulacan where Anda was, and the English chiefs of whom it was spoken variously. The archbishop cannot speak with exactness, as he does not know of those events, only that on one occasion, posterior to that time, in which the Augustinian[143] fathers were discussed before many, the archbishop alleged publicly in their favor (led rather by his inclination to piety than by

[143] The British exiled the superior of the Augustinians from Manila, and forbade him to live in any of the four neighboring provinces; and confiscated all the property of that order (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 83).

the judgment which he had formed then of their guilt or innocence), as well as in favor of all the religious who were present in their convents; for he held several divine offices, and protected them so far as he could, although he was unable to prevent the English from embarking and sending nine of them in the English fragatas which went to Madrasta.

36. It appears that, on account of the said causes, and (as is known) from other apprehensions or imaginations, the British leaders proscribed the above-named auditor, and it was added that they had offered a reward for his person. The auditors learning this, went to the archbishop with this notice, and great fright; and for the time being there were no means by which to assure their lives. But within a short time a hasty message from the general to the archbishop, ordering him to cause that auditor to appear, together with the alcalde-mayor of Bulacan and other nearby alcaldes in order that, on the twenty-fifth day of October, they might, together with the city and the military men, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and give their word of honor not to take arms against his nation during the war, and until the kings should agree or decide the fate of these islands. The archbishop replied to this message that he was unable to cause the appearance of Auditor Anda, since they had proscribed him, which was equivalent to handing him over to death; and that so long as Anda was not secure of his life he could not make him appear. In regard to the alcalde of Bulacan and the others, he could as little cause them to come, because in the lack of any one to govern and restrain the natives, their disturbance and revolt would increase all the more.

37. In order that he might inform the auditors of this event, the archbishop had them summoned, and with them, namely, the fiscal and the senior auditor, he began to discuss what they ought to do in regard to Auditor Anda. While they were conferring thus, Auditor Galban came with the marquis of Monte Castro, who were with General Draper at the time when my above-mentioned reply or message was given to him. He sent them so that they might discuss and talk over this point with the archbishop. They told him that he could rest assured of the life of Anda, and the general answered the same through his envoy. The conference lasted for more than three hours, with various commotions, without the auditors caring to express their opinion, giving as an excuse that the said general had told those above-mentioned that they were all prisoners of war, with the exception of the archbishop. On the night of said day, said ministers presented to the archbishop a writing, leaving in his hands and judgment as the one to whom the matter pertained, the appearance of said Anda.

38. But in order to meet this matter better, he had some of the foremost military officers invited, to whom he told all that had passed. They were of the opinion that he should cause the said Anda to retire, under security of his life, for he was incurring a great danger, and exposing the lives of many with his disturbances; and to shut off the provisions carries the same risk. [They were all of this opinion] except one military man, who asserted that if Bulacan was a separate province and had a fort or bastion, Anda ought not to be summoned, for then he could defend himself. But said province is very near Ma-

nila, being separated therefrom by only a distance of three or four hours, and it never had a bastion or fortress except that which very lately was constructed by order of the said Anda, and which the English demolished as will be told later.

39. In accordance with this opinion, the archbishop asked the general for assurance of the life of the abovesaid, in writing, and it was sent to him in the English language. The archbishop had it translated into our language, and kept in his possession the original paper. The above-mentioned copy was enclosed to him, and at the bottom of it the archbishop assured him that it was a faithful copy, and that he had had it copied into our language in order that Anda might understand it. He gave Anda strict orders to appear, but the latter replied discourteously with several absurdities, which the archbishop answered by noting his rudeness, and stating that he should have been addressed with the title of governor, and of Anda's disrespect in judging him [*i.e.*, the archbishop] to be the secretary of the British. The archbishop also showed Anda other errors which he suffered, and sent him the original paper of safety, so that he might make use of it in the way that he pleased, and said that he would make a charge before God and the king of his excesses.

40. From that time until the present Anda continued his orders to prevent any food from being taken down to the city. But he has never been able to succeed in more than that the price of food has risen. He has not considered that the greater part of the garrison were prisoners in the city with the archbishop, with their officers, two togated ministers, and the officials of the royal treasury (except the

treasurer), and the majority of the persons composing both cabildos, ecclesiastical and secular, various religious of all the communities, a convent of nuns, the beaterios and schools of both sexes, and most of the citizens of all classes and estates. He has not reflected that his obstinacy in this measure in any event and in any manner in which it might have any desired effect, resulted, before any injury to the English, in that of all these vassals of the king, afflicted and opposed by both parts. He has taken no account of the lack of success that could be hoped for from such a project, as has been shown, as he has not sufficient arms or disciplined men with which to oppose a nation which, besides having the city garrisoned and that of Cavite, and in both a good provision in the storehouses, dominated also the sea with their boats, with which in case of necessity, they could furnish provisions in plenty.[144]

[144] Anda's force, says Le Gentil (ii, p. 262) consisted of about 9,000 men, of whom 2,000 were armed with muskets, and about 300 Europeans, most of whom were French deserters from the British. To such an extent did the desertion of the French occur that the British sent those left them (about 150) back to India. Anda refused the offer of a French sergeant to endeavor to cause the desertion of the Sepoys, on the ground that they were Mahometans. Anda's force, before he surrendered the command to Francisco de la Torre, is specified by Ayerbe (*Sitio y conquista*, pp. 132, 133), as follows: 12 infantry companies, consisting of 1,370 men, of whom 223 were deserters from the British; 2 cavalry companies, consisting of 293 men, of whom 100 were Spaniards, and the rest Cagayans, and 50 of whom had muskets, 50 blunderbusses, and the rest spears; 100 cavalry dragoons; 281 artillerymen, some of them deserters, most armed with sabers, and a few with muskets; 100 Indians commanded by the native colonel, Santos de los Angeles, 60 being infantry with muskets, and 40 cavalry with short firearms and spears; 300 native and mestizo commissary troops armed with muskets and bows and arrows, whose duty it was to prevent the entrance of food into Manila; 3 Boholans, armed with lance and shield, who acted as Anda's bodyguard; 400

41. This temerity has been the origin of many evils, which have increased the misfortune of these inhabitants, both secular and religious. They have been reduced to prison on various occasions, with sufficient contempt, occasioning that, together with injury to the natives, notable disturbances, disasters, fires, murders, robberies, and rapines have been experienced through the same agents and other evil-doers. They have even been propagated through diverse places and estates with the destruction of their fields and herds; and, on the other side, the English irritated, not only have committed in the vicinity of Manila, many annoyances, burning of villages and buildings, and taking by force of arms (without resistance), all kinds of grain and animals, food, and a very great number of buffaloes, which were destined for the plough and the cultivation of the land, but they have also penetrated into some provinces with very few men, taking therefrom whatever they have wished, as they did in the month of November in the village of Pasig, where especially the food of all the Lake of Bay was gathered, and where trenches had been made in the church and convent. With all kinds of arms they had been occupied by ten thousand Indians, who were defeated at their first arrival by five hundred English. About one thousand five hundred of both sexes and all ages were killed, part of them with gun and cannon, and part precipitated into and drowned in the river Pasig. From that

Visayans, armed with bows and arrows; 2,000 Indians, enlisted in the villages near Polo, as a reserve; in addition to the natives used in other employments. Le Gentil (ii, pp. 266-268) accuses Anda of inaction, although he had an army of more than 10,000 men. But he adds that Anda could not count on his native troops, and had no large guns.

time a detachment of English troops remained in said village.[145] For that reason the English have penetrated about all the lake and through the province of Taal and Balayan, and have always brought vast supplies of food for their troops and for the storehouses. All these inhabitants always furnish them (for their money) with flesh, wheat, and palay. In any other way they would have suffered many more miseries. In the month of February, they did the same in Bulacan, which was the province where the above-mentioned Anda had established his fort in the church and convent. They advanced and forced his trenches, where some Spaniards and religious were killed, and four hundred Indians were put to the sword. The only difference was that in this place they did not carry back provisions or fortify themselves, but retired after demolishing the fortifications in the convent. They have also made many extortions in other villages which they would not have done had they not been provoked.[146]

42. All these injuries and many others, which are the necessary sequel of them, the archbishop thought over from that beginning, [which had been] without any fruit or advantage to our side, but, indeed, had, on the contrary, the pernicious effects that experience has proved, and which had already commenced to show themselves. Consequently, he found it necessary to write to Anda again, mitigating with the

[145] The British troops under Thomas Backhouse, who invaded the provinces November 8, 1762, easily forced an entrance into the village of Pasig, driving the natives who opposed them like a herd of frightened sheep (Mas, i, pp. 162, 163).

[146] Anda's agents scoured the environs of Manila for contributions, and it is said that they committed many exactions. See Le Gentil, ii, p. 269.

greatest mildness the ardor of his preceding letter, in order that Anda might consider these calamities, and change direction, increasing and arranging the terms of his commission as visitor of the land and lieutenant of the captain-general. But there was no other answer to this letter except notice of its receipt written on its envelope.

43. A like effect was obtained by the order that he gave in his letter to the treasurer, ordering him to transfer to the city the money in his care, in order that it might escape the theft which many evil natives had attempted. They would have succeeded in one of their most vigorous attacks, had not this disturbance been calmed by the alcalde of Pagsanjan, the marquises of Villamediana and Monte Castro being present. The latter were abused by three Franciscan religious, who, armed, captained the Indians in order to get possession of the treasury. In order to avoid this danger and the loss of this money, the archbishop had conferred with the generals, saying that he would hand it over to them on condition that it be reckoned as a part of the millions demanded, and that they supply him with the pay for the ministers, officers, troops, and others whose support depended on his Majesty. The relief of the community would also follow the exhibition of this treasury, and would lessen the payment of his Majesty. Nothing sufficed to make the treasurer Echauz obey. He went to Pampanga with the treasury, which he placed at the disposition of Auditor Anda, who began to use it recently for the expenses which he believed advisable or necessary, according to his projects.

44. To the question of the British, which was urgently put to him, in regard to the royal treasury

and possessions, the archbishop responded briefly and truly, showing them that the king, his master, had no temporal interest in these islands, but only that strictly of the souls of his vassals, and the causing them to live as civilized beings and Christians, according to the Catholic law for their salvation; and that in order to maintain them with his ecclesiastical and secular ministers, he spent the tributes which were collected with so great right, and the two departments only of buyo and wine. In this regard he distributed very large sums annually from the treasury of Mexico. In no other manner could these islands subsist.

45. The city, orders, and Spaniards having been summoned to the royal palace, in order to express their loyalty and not to take arms against his Britannic Majesty, before his generals, an act in which their loyalty and love to his Catholic Majesty, their legitimate king, shone forth brightly, through the unwillingness, sadness, and repugnance, with which it was celebrated. Slightly before as well and separately was given the word of honor not to take arms during the war or until another arrangement was made by the sovereigns (in a certain Latin form, and which necessarily contained nothing of vassalage to his Britannic Majesty), by the archbishop, auditors, and royal officials present. The polite representation of the archbishop to the generals in the said house where they were lodging, namely, the archiepiscopal, enabled them [*i.e.*, the above officials] to gain exemption from mixing with the others, or in their formula [of loyalty or allegiance to the British sovereign].

46. Thence, at their instance, they [*i.e.*, the ca-

bildo, religious, and Spaniards] were conducted to the royal palace, and in the presence of so numerous a gathering, a paper was read, in which the archbishop was reproved as one who robbed from the churches, the sum to which their silver amounted, and that of the pious funds already delivered and received; and that in regard to this, that silver would soon complete a million. And now he was about to surrender the forces and islands dependent on Manila. By that paper the heart of the archbishop was wounded as if by a double-edged sword. On two points he was unable to restrain his wrath, and he uttered in the presence of the two generals the words that his zeal dictated to him, namely, that the instance and threat of the victors had been necessary for the withdrawal of the abovesaid silver, and there were no other resources near at hand. He does not rob, who makes use, in extreme need, of the most sacred thing, which is destined in such cases most suitably to the living temples of God, namely, His faithful. But he cannot clear himself from this sacrilegious crime, who causes it by violence, and who willingly and eagerly receives its effects, and whatever is left over and above them. In regard to the second point, that meant to attempt another act of violence quite contrary to the day and to the act which was being celebrated on it to the honor and memory of the birthday of his Britannic Majesty, whose protection he implored, so that such a matter might not be discussed on such a day. And the archbishop insisted that he would sacrifice his life for his faithfulness to his king, and for his honor, which would be vindicated by his Catholic Majesty, his sovereign.

47. With this expression of anger, the archbishop retired to his room, where the above-mentioned paper was sent him. In order to deliberate on its contents, he had a general council summoned for next day, October 26, consisting of the ministers, the chief military men, and the city and ecclesiastical [cabildos]. In a few words the archbishop explained to the council the arguments pro and con regarding the cession of the islands. Since he gave all his attention and time to this, he ordered a council of those interested to discuss, with the assistance of the fiscal, and under the presidency of the senior auditor, the matter of the completion of the million. The result of that discussion will be stated later.

48. But in regard to the point of the islands, which was discussed in general council, the regulars excused themselves from voting, by saying that their rules forbade them to vote on war questions, and that they feared to act irregularly. The archbishop was unable to overlook this pretext, and told them that they had voted in like assemblies at the time of the siege, and had permitted or given license to their subjects to take all kinds of arms, to patrol the walls, and to guard the posts which were entrusted to them; and had sent the Indians from their villages to take part in the conflict. They had not done otherwise in their missions exposed to the dangers of the Moros, than to manufacture and buy all sorts of arms, and importune the superior government to supply arms to them, and afterward to handle them and make use of them in defense of their parishioners, and to fight the enemies of the faith and religion. At present it was not necessary to take these arms or to make use of them, but it was necessary to declare what was

advisable in regard to conceding or denying the submission of the provinces in which religion and the instruction of their neophytes were at stake. But nothing was sufficient to get them to give their vote, that which the archbishop had alleged causing them great irritation. As their obstinacy angered the archbishop still more, he did not have them summoned to the second council.

49. In the voting of that council of the twenty-sixth, it happened that the engineer, by whom the voting commenced, refused strongly to pass any opinion, saying that he was prevented from doing so, as he was a prisoner of war. This murmur spread among the other military men present, and they added that the license of the generals was necessary in order that this council might be held. Consequently, it was necessary for the archbishop to explain these matters, by telling them that this was not a clandestine council, but one called openly and in plain sight and with the knowledge and suffrance of the generals. In it they were not discussing the taking of arms by the prisoners for the defense of the provinces, but whether the islands were to be yielded under present circumstances by the archbishop-governor. Thereupon, the voting went on with varying results. When it came to the fiscal's vote, he again was obstinate on the points prisoners of war and the license of the generals for the council, and he said that he would accordingly take his position on the principle of it. The archbishop answered what he had said in regard to the said points, and that this was to place in doubt what he had signed. Thereupon, there was great altercation, anger, and notable incivility, with visible signs of the agony

which the archbishop was suffering from this blow. But the altercation having subsided, and all of them having quieted down, the fiscal and other ministers declared their vote. Since it was now very late and the vote was not cleared up, and since it could not be well enough discerned at that time, it was ordered that the same council be convoked on the following day, with the exception of the regulars.

50. In fact, on the following day, October 27, another council was held in the afternoon. At it the archbishop had the Latin letter read which he had received on the morning of that day from General Draper, with the date of the twenty-eighth (which corresponds to the twenty-seventh of our reckoning and calendar). The vote was put, and some who had given their vote in the negative on the preceding day, namely, not to surrender the islands, retracted, and voted affirmatively. The ministers and some others expressed their opinion and gave it in writing. The vote was equally cast with but a little difference of one or two votes. The archbishop asserted that he would decide without delay what appeared most advisable to him, commending, as he had done, so grave a matter to our Lord, so that He might inspire him as to what was for His best service and that of His as well as our Catholic king. Before dissolving this council, an envoy came from General Draper with another letter bearing date of the twenty-eighth (which corresponds in our calendar to the twenty-seventh) written in the English language. It was read there by an interpreter. It was reduced to saying that, with only the cession of a few places of little importance, he would save (he gave to understand with whom he spoke, namely the archbishop)

the lives of a multitude; that he was sure that his Catholic Majesty would consider himself as well served; and that those who were endeavoring to persuade the archbishop not to yield, if they did not promptly change their opinion, would answer with their lives, and that the auditors were to affix their signatures.

51. All those present having heard the context of the above-mentioned letter, without any more being added or mentioned than what was declared in the above-mentioned council, it was dissolved, and the thorn (which was very sharp) remained in the heart of the archbishop in deliberating on so serious a point. In that deliberation the least thing involved was the danger to his own life, of which he was tired and of which he almost desired the end. But that is always placed in the hands of divine Providence who directs everything positively or permissively for His greater service and glory. Not only did he consider the extermination of the city and the lives of many with which he was threatened, but also (and which was very easy), the uneasiness of the villages and missions of the provinces, in great part ruined and destroyed by their old-time enemies, the Moros, who with a little stimulus and encouragement from their new enemies would assault them on all sides and would finish with their mission ministers and justices. It was greatly to be feared that if the natives were offered exemption from tribute, and subjection, they would be the instruments of these disasters.

52. This effort tied the hands of the English, who irritated by a negative answer, could have assigned two fragatas of their squadron to coast along the

provinces, and cause this horrible uneasiness. If they did that, (unless it was averted by divine Providence), the ruin of the instruction and faith of the neophytes would be experienced. These reasons having been meditated upon before Jesus Christ, our life, from whose service depended that of a Catholic king, the archbishop resolved on the twenty-eighth to avoid the greater evil, and to assure the conservation of the islands, and the teaching and doctrine of our holy religion in them by keeping their natives quiet. Thereupon, on the said day, and on the following, the twenty-ninth, he wrote letters to the prelates and to the provinces, with the intention of using them opportunely;[147] and without making mention of those letters, he replied on the date of the twenty-ninth[148] in the Latin language to the above-mentioned

[147] The letter written by the archbishop on October 29, to the provincials of the religious orders. His own sins he fears have been the cause of the loss of Manila and other places. But God has been merciful in much, and liberty, trade, and religion are preserved for the inhabitants. An attempt is being made to collect the one million of the ransom money demanded, and the rest will be taken from the "Filipino" and bills of credit on the Spanish monarch. It is necessary to cede the islands because of the force of the enemy in order to avoid greater misfortune. This cession is merely a temporary deposit made to the British sovereign. The aid of the religious is asked in preserving order and the statu quo, by not opposing the British.

[148] A copy of the letter written by the archbishop to Draper under date of October 29, 1762, and translated from the Latin, in which it was couched, into Spanish, is contained in a MS. owned by Edward E. Ayer. The archbishop servilely addresses Draper as "Prudent and most clement conqueror," and "most humane sir." The inhabitants are doing their best to gather the million demanded at once, and the archbishop has given all the silver of his church (except what is absolutely necessary for the sacrifice of the mass) and even his pectorals. He bewails the fate that makes it necessary for him to cede the islands to the English. Draper's letter on the twenty-seventh (twenty-eighth, English calendar) of October follows this, although it should properly

letter, also in Latin, of General Draper, explaining to him diffusely and vigorously the difficulty of what he asked. His reasons, if they did not suffice to convince him, lessened the violence and force which were uttered a thousand times in said letter.

53. He summoned the auditors in order to show this letter to them, but they did not come as they were busy, answering that they would come if the matter were urgent. But the instances of the general of the day before having been repeated for the reply, it was sent to him in said letter between seven and eight in the morning of the said day, the twenty-ninth. But after eleven o'clock on the same day, the general sent his letter of the thirtieth of the same month (which corresponds to our date of the twenty-ninth) with the message for me not to bother myself, that that letter was to be signed by myself and the au-

precede it. It dwells on the humanity of the English, and the fact that by the cession of a few places, the archbishop has avoided much ruin, for the English arms would easily have reduced them; and the inhabitants have been left freedom of worship, trade, their possessions, churches, and convents. Those who persuade the archbishop through a false sense of honor not to cede the islands will be responsible for the consequences. The auditors are to immediately sign the cession. The cession signed on the thirtieth (English date) is as follows: "Sir: All the islands subordinate to that of Luzon, of which Manila is the capital (in the manner and form at present under the dominion of his Catholic Majesty) are to be ceded to his Britannic Majesty. The latter is to be the recognized sovereign until the peace between both kings decides their fate. Their religion, goods, privileges, possessions, and trade are to be conserved to the subjects of España who inhabit these islands, in the same manner that they have been conserved for the inhabitants of Manila and on the island of Luzon. All the alcaldes, governors, and military men shall enjoy the honors of war if they give their word of honor not to serve or bear arms against his Britannic Majesty during this war. The archbishop and auditors shall sign this agreement. [Signed] Guillermo Draper." It is to be noted that the archbishop's synopses of the various letters mentioned in the text correspond with the letters themselves.

ditors, to whom he sent word that if they did not do it, he would have them immediately thrown into a galley. Instantly upon receiving this message they immediately appeared, and signed the letter together with the archbishop, both the original letter in English and its translation into Spanish. It was sent to the said general, and said auditors only gave notice that they had made their protest before the notary, and that it should not be written at the foot of said letter, in order that the general might not happen to see it, if he asked for said original letter. With such fear did they proceed, but the archbishop showed them the copy of his letter above-mentioned, in which is manifest his protest with the declaration of repeating it a thousand times.

54. This point has been treated with prolixity, for besides being one of the most serious, and one of greatest pain, it has been shifted and juggled [*adviterado*?] variously, blackening enormously the conduct of the archbishop, even to affirming that it is evident that he had an understanding with the English for this cession, in a journal full of false entries and of black impostures, composed by the fiscal. But God be thanked, that the evidence of this criminal calumny is false, and the weak apprehensions or inferences on which it is founded have been clearly dissipated. For what is affirmed is false, namely, that the cession of the islands had been discussed or made before October 26, and that letters had been written for their surrender, as the first council was held on the said day, and the second on the following day (the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth). On the twenty-ninth, the archbishop made his resolution, and wrote the rough drafts of said letters with his

own hand on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth. The statement also is false, namely, that on the twenty-ninth, said letters were sent with one of the same date in which the archbishop answered the general ceding the islands. For these original letters are yet in possession of the secretary of the assembly, and neither then nor at any time have they been sent or delivered. So true is this that the commanders having gone – Draper on the twelfth of November[149] of the past year, and Cornish on the first of March of the present year, who never asked him for a letter for the surrender of the islands – the British government tried afterwards to get the archbishop to give letters of surrender for Zebù, Yloylo, and Zamboanga, which he refused and did not give, as appears from his letters, rejecting the instances of the above-mentioned British government.

55. Also false is the end of this report, which asserts, not indeed that it is presumed, but that it is presumed if not proved, that the archbishop tried to shield himself. Without this protection or shelter, he made the cession in his letter of the said twenty-ninth day, as is said above, with the signature of the auditors, which they placed in the letter of Draper on the thirtieth (in our calendar, the twenty-ninth), which in view of and after the receipt of that of the archbishop, the said general sent on that same twenty-ninth day, with the threatening message that he would send them to the galleys. Only the constancy of the archbishop can be well inferred. In his protest he asserts and [*MS. worn*] to the general in con-

[149] When Draper left Manila, he took what he wished from the archbishop's palace in which he lived. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 76, 77.

sideration of his threat of the extermination of the city the lives of many, which did not move the animosity of the auditors for their signature until they received the personal threat of their own imprisonment.

56. The ambiguous letter of Draper of the twenty-eighth (in our calendar, the twenty-seventh), is slight foundation for so gross a suspicion and its proof; in which he seems to infer that the archbishop had made the cession, and infers on the other hand, that he was in condition of acting in regard to the cession. For the letter says that those who endeavored to persuade him not to make the cession would answer with their lives. It is a proof of the sincerity of the archbishop that he showed the said letter in the second council, for if it contained anything suspicious, or anything by which he would be discovered to be lacking in application, it would have been very easy for him to suppress it and return it to the general, in order that the latter might write another, in which nothing would be understood in regard to the secret understanding. It is not the mark of a good reason and less is it Christian to assert so great a crime as proved without having had any motive. For to such infamies, one is moved either by self-interest or the expectations of honors, or important posts which both lacked. For the archbishop had previously stripped himself of all his few valuables and pectorals, without reserving any; and he was clothed in the greatest honors and employments with which the powerful Catholic king can honor a vassal of his in these islands. And only by depriving himself of this recognition, and of his character as a Christian and archbishop could he offend so enormously against his

king and religion because of the expectation or promise of greater honors in Londres or with the very crown of all Ynglaterra. Through the mercy of God, the archbishop has not been abandoned by His divine hand in his right judgment or in the works of his misery and weakness. Neither does he live so forgetful of *quid prodest homini*,[150] etc.

57. The reason of the archbishop not having used said letters which they falsely affirmed had been delivered, and of the originals being conserved in the possession of the secretary, was that having been sent (as he thought they ought first to be sent) to the regular superiors living in Manila on the thirtieth (the following day) of October, who [*MS. worn*] to their most [*MS. worn*] in the margin to be understood by it the said original message [*cordillera*]. The above-mentioned reason having been given, the rumor spread among the populace that the said letter had been the cause of the disaster of the alcalde-mayor of Pagsanjan,[151] who was lanced by the Indians themselves on the gallows. That was mentioned to the archbishop by a trustworthy and God-

[150] A reference to Matthew xvi, 26, the Latin of the Vulgate being: *Quid enim prodest homini si mundum universum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua?* This reads as follows in the Douay version: "For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul?"

[151] Various disorders were committed in Laguna province by the Indians. Dissatisfied with their alcalde-mayor because he favored the archbishop, the captain of Pagsanban issued a circular against the alcalde-mayor, treating him as a traitor. In return he was arrested and publicly lashed. The Indians, infuriated, ill-treated the alcalde-mayor's family, killing his brother-in-law, and later the alcalde himself. For this they were pardoned by Anda, who saw himself powerless to pursue any other course just then. See Mas, i, pp. 159, 160.

fearing person who grieved at his carelessness in said letter.

58. Surprised at this information, the archbishop had the above-mentioned letter brought into the presence of the said person, together with the others, and had the secretary read them with their dates. By their very dates, namely, the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of October, it was plain that they could not have occasioned the event of Pagsanjan which occurred the day before, namely, the twenty-seventh of the same month. This casualty was made more impossible by the distance of said village from Manila, which is at the least three days' journey. The legitimate cause of this insurrection and tyrannical murder of their alcalde was that which appears in the documents formed of this matter, where it is evident that this cloud of dust which was raised was no other thing than the racial inconstancy and disloyalty of the natives of that village and its environs. The fact that the archbishop had not had any support or reply to the contents of his letter from the superiors of Manila, and the knowledge that Auditor Anda had already sent his message [*cordillera*] through the provinces,[152] in which he declared himself to be governor and captain-general, made it

[152] Anda wrote Bishop Ustariz asking his coöperation in the maintenance of quiet in the provinces, in view of the British invasion, and the danger that threatened the Catholic faith. This letter the bishop sent to the Augustinian provincial with one of his own, asking him to conserve Spanish interests as much as possible, and to enrol the aid of the natives. An order promulgated by Anda, October 6, 1762, enjoins watchfulness on the part of the alcaldes-mayor. They are to forbid all passage to Manila, both of persons and supplies; are to deny all aid to the British and all strangers in their jurisdiction; and are to arrest or kill all suspects. See Vivar's *Relación*, pp. 294-296.

necessary for the archbishop not to disturb the provinces and accede to the times and to the circumstances thereof, and ordered that none of the said letters be sent. That order was executed as given and the originals were kept in the possession of the secretary. That which can have happened, and of which there is frequent experience in any part, as well as in this city, is that a copy of one or more of said letters may have been drawn by the infidelity of some clerk without the archbishop or his secretary being able to remedy it, and in this way their contents may have become known and explained by the malicious rivalry in as sinister a manner as is usual.

59. In regard to the other point of the completion of the million, the archbishop entrusted it to the senior auditor, Don Francisco Villacorta,[153] in order that having assembled those interested, together with the fiscal, they might determine what the matter demanded according to its circumstances. They held several meetings, in one of which a plan was adopted for demanding of each person the contribution in accordance with his wealth and the sack which he had suffered. But there was great opposition, and some made complaint to General Draper and to the archbishop. The latter assembling them all, exhorted their help to the extent possible, to which they were obliged by their conscience and by the circumstances, in order to avoid greater extortions. For the representation to the general of not having promised to complete the million was not received, but this matter was strongly insisted upon. Finally, the only

[153] Villacorta, whom Le Gentil terms a "just and impartial man," asserted that Anda was unjust toward Rojo, who was very sincere in his devotion to the Spanish sovereignty (Le Gentil, ii, p. 271). Villacorta had however himself conspired against Anda.

success achieved was in getting each one to offer what he deemed best. With the valuables and money [given], scarce did the sum reach twenty-six thousand pesos. But a very great quantity was needed to complete the million in addition to that raised by the pious funds, the chaplaincies, and the silver of the churches. This reached the sum of four hundred and forty-three thousand pesos.[154] However great the effort and attempt made by the English to have the million paid, yet it was found impossible on the part of the citizens to raise hastily a greater sum than that above-mentioned because of the sack and destruction which they suffered even in their furniture and houses; and because some few, who could have aided, were not living in the city, but had taken to the mountains in several places, while some others, as was said, placed what money they could in safety outside the city, so that the richest who were absent refused to aid.

60. At this time the two fragatas, which had been assigned by the enemy, at the time of the siege, to capture the "Philipino," entered the bay with the ship "Trinidad," which they had fought and captured after a vigorous defense on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of October. This ship left for its voyage to Acapulco from the Embocadero under a favorable wind on September 13, but lost its mast in a severe storm at a distance of three hundred leguas at the parallel of the Marianas. It was all but gone, and it became necessary to put back [which was done] with great difficulty. When it was in the Embocadero near San Jacinto, without being aware of what was happening in Manila, it was attacked

[154] See the British figures regarding the ransom money, *post*.

by said two fragatas and captured. From the time of its arrival, the claim was begun to be made that it was not a legitimate prize, the freedom of trade, possessions, and property having been agreed upon in anticipation. And although the instance of the commerce body was continued to the British government for this declaration, the government sent it to Admiral Cornish, and the latter after many delays, and by nature serious, harsh, and hard, because the Spaniards had not fulfilled the stipulation regarding the millions, answered that that matter belonged to the admiralty of Londres, whither it was sent.[155] He would never consent to have the cargo remain on deposit, or to have it delivered to those interested in it, under the guaranty which was lastly proposed by the archbishop, he having previously supported the right of the citizens to its restitution; for said admiral said that it was no time now to discuss this matter, as he was just about to sail, and left on the first of March with his squadron, taking said ship.[156]

61. Its cargo consisted of one thousand one hundred and forty-eight piezas, but all that was sent outside of the hold, consisting of boxes of presents, valuables and things of value, he had placed at auction, without taking the formality to summon those interested or making any note of what was taken possession of and seized. Some of the boxes of letters which were filled with water, and which were seized by them, they opened and took cognizance of their contents. The archbishop was unable to get the return

[155] The admiralty archives in England may have various data regarding this.

[156] With Cornish also went Auditor Pedro Calderon and his daughter, who went to Spain, and some missionaries, officers, and soldiers (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 77).

of these letters and official papers, which he demanded repeatedly. For it was well to burn the private letters, which the enemy themselves declared to be false and entangling, as they themselves noted. But no one was ignorant of the many accounts and fabulous stories which were written by several persons. The archbishop was also unable to obtain some canes which he was sending – one for the king, and the other for the prince. Their distinction was that they were made of fine bamboos of these islands, and the handles were engraved skilfully with the royal arms by noble natives of the islands. Neither did [he obtain] the valuables left by Mariscal Arandia as a legacy to our sovereigns.

62. As the whole business or object of the English was the treasure of the "Philipino" they sent two more fragatas to look for it, and in them went persons authorized by this community. Inasmuch as four citizens had been made prisoners or detained in houses of this city, as well as Auditor Don Francisco Villacorta and the fiscal, Don Francisco Viana, one cannot imagine the efforts of the archbishop, personally and in writing with the generals and the British government for the release of the above-mentioned, especially the ministers. After some days and petitions, he was able to succeed on condition that four men should be chosen to make the abovesaid efforts. In fact they were chosen by the citizens and sailed in said fragatas, although they were unable to make the port of Palapa because of very violent storms which putting them in danger of shipwreck made it necessary for them to put back to Manila after ninety days.

63. Seeing that their attempt was frustrated and

that the rumors that they heard were that the silver had been removed from the "Philipino," and placed in safety, Admiral Cornish, irritated and just about to sail, attempted a new sack. Although by demand of the British government, it appears that he went to quiet his officers, yet he was implacable, and it appears that having been advised by the said government that it would resist on its part the sack within the city, without desisting from his attempt, said admiral set his gaze on the suburbs, especially on Santa Cruz,[157] where the most of the Spaniards are. Already were the dread and consternation great, and the destruction and mortality which were threatened by the fury of this hostility were feared. The archbishop, having been notified thereof by some Spaniards, exerted all his strength and care to avoid this disaster, and moderate, and cause the admiral to set some bounds [to the matter]. Discussing the matter with the latter in several visits which he paid to him, he was able to persuade him and agree to give him an order for the two millions. In case that the "Philipino" (as was already inferred) came with its wealth or the fragata which was assigned for this purpose transported them, from that property would be completed the amount of the other two millions, having liquidated the account in regard to the sum already raised, and taking account of the amount of the sack that they had suffered and which was to be regulated.

64. In this manner everything remained quiet. It was no time or season for answer or reply, espe-

[157] More than four hundred houses were ruined in the barrios of Santa Cruz and Binondo by the British after the assault (*Sitio y conquista*, pp. 72, 73).

cially with the admiral who was so strong and hard in his resolution. No other expedient was found with which to meet the conflict than the above-mentioned order. Neither could he avoid in the nearness of his embarkation the new sack of the church and convent of St. Augustine (with the exception of the reliquaries which the archbishop, feigning ignorance, had caused to be kept in the cathedral); nor that the admiral should not sack the houses of the marquis of Monte Castro and of Don Andres Blanco – the first because he had failed in his word of honor, and the second because he had not taken part in the contribution – in which were included various persons who lost their property.

65. The account of the sack which Cornish furnished to the archbishop is quite ridiculous and improbable as to the amount of twenty-nine thousand pesos at which he puts it, since by means of the investigations which the archbishop was able to carry on the sack amounts to more than eight hundred thousand pesos; and almost one-third of the inhabitants were absent so that it has been impossible to adjust their loss through the absence of many persons. However, it is a fact that the total amount must be lowered by what the Indians and house servants took in these robberies and destruction. But this adjustment could not be made at the time when Cornish threatened the new sack; for these investigations are being made at present, and as yet the last has not been heard from because of the absence of not a few inhabitants who have still to make their declaration. Neither would the irritation of Cornish, had these investigations even been finished, have considered our account and adjustment, both because of his

impetuous nature, and because of the so vast discrepancy of his account to that above-mentioned. Consequently, it was only the time to yield and to enter into some kind of agreement by means of the above-mentioned order. This recourse was necessary and inevitable under the circumstances leaving it for the consideration of our king and his ministers who might take the advisable measures in view of what had happened.

66. The admiral departed, as has been said, the first of March. He left orders to his castellan of Cavite to go in a fragata to Palapa. In fact the latter did so, and through a citizen, who was selected by the merchant body, the order was given from the beginning for the commander of the "Philipino" to bring the silver or deliver it; so that, having reduced the amount which was lacking to complete the millions, the remainder might be delivered to the Spaniards interested and sent to its destination. Already it was more than probable by this time that the silver of the said ship was placed in safety; and the above-mentioned castellan, who went to Palapa, found that it was so. He found the said ship without any crew or any cargo; and notwithstanding some investigations which he made to get the silver, he ordered the "Philipino" to be set afire and returned to Manila without having obtained anything else than having made his efforts in vain.[158] But he did not cease to make all efforts ashore and by sea in small boats to get the silver, but the same result followed of not obtaining any success.

[158] The British found some copper on the "Filipino," and before setting fire to the vessel, spiked the cannon (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 72).

67. Before these incidents, by others which intervened through the withdrawal of some Spaniards and officers, notwithstanding their oath and word of honor, the English caused to enter into the city those who were suspected, among them being the two ministers who were the only ones outside the walls, Don Francisco Viana and Don Francisco Billacorta. The latter effected his entrance into the city on receipt of the message; and the former his retirement to Pampanga at the end of January. Auditor Villacorta entered and left the city freely, but had the heedlessness [to write] certain letters to Auditor Anda, and the misfortune to have them intercepted. It resulted therefrom that he was seized and in a very short time he was considered by a council of war, which sentenced him to the last punishment.[159]

68. Almost at the same time the rumor spread abroad of the offensive and defensive alliance of the British government with the king of Jolo. In consideration of the treaty which that sultan had a few months previously celebrated in favor of his Majesty and the Spanish nation, and of the irreparable injuries that would result to these islands from the newly-contracted alliance, the archbishop had recourse by a very strong and expressive letter to said government, laying upon it all the responsibility in regard to said alliance. However, he resisted strongly for the reason which he expresses in his reply. But this alliance has reached such a point that the government has sent Prince Ysrael, son of the said sultan, to Jolo; and then tried to get the archbishop to give

[159] In order to secure the release of Villacorta, it was alleged that he was insane; but his release was only accomplished after a money payment (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 75).

him a letter for the surrender of Zebù and other islands,[160] but its petitions and exigencies to obtain said letter were unsuccessful. The archbishop refused to give it for the reasons which are expressed in his letters to the British government on this matter. So far has the archbishop been from giving letters for the surrender of the islands, that he refused and resisted what was petitioned from him in instances and even by threats a long time after the cession had passed.

69. The archbishop excused no effort in the so serious matter of the cause of Auditor Villacorta, by message, visits, and letter, but all he could obtain was the suspension of his execution. The British conceded that on condition that the defendant himself, the father provincial of the Society, and the archbishop write to Auditor Anda, ordering him to suspend hostilities, and not to prevent the entrance of food. I have no doubt that the two letters were couched in good terms. That of the archbishop was dated March 21, [and was written] with the care and attention that it expresses. These letters were given to the British who sent them by the most reverend Father Sierra, a Dominican, who brought back the answers and placed them in the hands of said British government. The latter, after a few days, sent his to the archbishop opened, after having made a copy of it, which was translated into the English language. Consequently, it was necessary for

[160] In the province of Panay, the alcalde was corrupted by the English, but was prevented from surrendering the province, as he was seized and imprisoned by the Augustinians there, an act approved by Anda. In Cebú, quiet was restored after the alcalde was hanged with the aid of the loyal Augustinians. See Mas, i, pp. 161, 162.

the archbishop to demand that the said copy be destroyed, as it touched and blackened his honor.[161] But the British government did not comply with this request, and only promised not to let it out of its possession, except to its superiors. Already the contents of said letter had been divulged among the Spaniards and English, a fact that deeply penetrated the heart of the archbishop, for its style and its contents alone ought to be buried in profound silence.

70. This letter, of which a rare copy will be found in the histories, is handed in to the royal hand and most just comprehension of his Majesty under other covers. The same diligence is practiced in another letter of the fiscal with his diary and manifesto, all written in the same ink and formed almost with the same pen as the above-mentioned letter of the other minister. Both of them have not been ashamed of staining their pens with blood against the laws of decency, truth, justice, and charity, to the offense of God, of their oath of obedience to the laws of the Indias, and in contempt of the archiepiscopal dignity, and of the archbishop's representation in these islands of the royal person of his Majesty. By their example they fermented the people, who have become scattered and corrupted with scandals, murmurings, disgust, and spite against their own prelate, pastor and father.

71. This impudence in the village, and almost universal among all classes of persons and estates, with the exception of some few of reason and judgment, is the fire that has deeply penetrated the feeling and pierced the heart of the archbishop. He maintained himself and still maintains himself

[161] See synopses and excerpts of these letters, *ante*, pp. 153-160.

firmly in the face of his enemies, in order that he might attend to the conflicts and needs of the said village and of our peoples, and not deprive the city and the many persons of both sexes who have found it impossible to leave it, of shelter; to attend, at the same time, to the protection of the churches as well as possible; and to see that the holy religion and divine worship are encouraged without commencing to grow weak in the capital. He has succeeded in doing this in the greater part through the divine Mercy; and to so great a degree have Church functions and all the ecclesiastical ministers succeeded for the welfare of the faithful, that edification and not a little wonder is caused by the fact that the faith and worship of our Lord Jesus Christ are seen to shine forth in the midst of so many hardships, conflicts, and necessities.

72. In this the royal favor and protection of the king, our sovereign, has the greatest and best share. The ecclesiastical cabildo and its ministers, the girls' school of Santa Potenciana, the troops which were left, the invalid and sick officers in the hospital of San Juan de Dios, the archbishop and his household, and many others who are aided by the king's pay, have been able to be maintained through his generous pity. With all this was concerned the provision which the archbishop enacted with the British governor in regard to the supply of the pay which he has administered without fail. In the regulation of them, the distribution has been made according to the circumstances of the persons and of the time, with the economy which has appeared advisable. Of the amount of these salaries, he has given and will give the orders against his Majesty's treasury,

on whom depends the subsistence of the above-mentioned vassals who have only lived and been able to support themselves with these aids of his Majesty, without having any other help so far as the human is concerned.

73. But in order that no thorn might be wanting to the archbishop to pierce him in regard to this same so favorable and equitable provision, since he assigned therein only half pay to the wearers of the toga (in consideration of the fact that if they moderated themselves under the present circumstances, it appeared sufficient, as they no longer respected his Majesty, reserving for the latter's justification, the payment of the other half for an opportune time), they were very angry, and made an outcry against the archbishop in a most impudent letter, in which they retorted but without foundation and with a vicious comprehension, that the archbishop was applying to himself more than half pay, although he took only the half which belongs to him as governor, and nothing more, not even any stipend as archbishop. But said ministers requested, and it was given them in its entirety or as a reward until October five, without them having been willing in the future to accept the half pay which was assigned to them under the above-mentioned reasons; and although their right remained safe to them at all times, it would have demonstrated that they would have been insufficient had the archbishop changed his provision. But it was shown that one-half the pay was quite sufficient for a minister to maintain himself with moderation and economy, as was proved in the case of Don Pedro Calderon, who arrived at this capital with the captured ship "Trinidad," and who requested that he be

furnished with half pay under bond. It was conceded to him in this manner, and he supported himself, daughter, and household with it.

74. Notwithstanding so many contradictions, conflicts, accidents, and enemies, on all sides which have undermined the robust health of the archbishop, placing him in the extremity of dying, he has been experiencing the most special providence of the Most High. Not without astonishment do they see him with life and that he has been able to attend to the conflicts of all and to the continuous attacks which pressed on him constantly from all sides. There has not been any Spaniard or native, or people of these, or any religious, who have been in prison, or experienced hardship, or necessity, whom he has not helped or protected with the offices of charity, mediation, and petition with the English, from whom he has many times obtained either the protection or justice which has been fitting. Consequently, he has encountered the enemy for all this class of people, even with danger to the respect of his dignity and of his person. Individual mention of the cases and persons would be infinite; and much appears in his letters to the English on various matters. But the gratitude that has been his due is that of a people made peevish by the wicked leaven of the examples and inducements of persons, who by their rank and post, special honor, and greater obligation, and because of being singularly benefited by the archbishop, ought to be quite other, and, at least, without the abandon of the fear of God and Christian charity.

75. The inevitable situation in which the archbishop finds himself, because of being in front of the enemy and in their presence, in order to attend to the

various grievous casualties which frequently occur would become more tolerable to him, if he did not experience from his own people and from the one who commands them, and from those whom they incite for the latter, that they have vomited forth their fury against his person. It seems incredible, but it is a fact, that the wrath and imprudent acts of the abovesaid who have soullessly trampled on his dignity have cost him more pangs than the presence of the enemy, who have respected him, although they have caused him great mortification.

76. From this fatal experience it comes, that the situado and wealth of the "Philipino" having been assured as abovesaid; and adding that in the same security, in which it is considered, it runs great danger from the very ones who are guarding it, and from other evildoers: the archbishop does not dare to ask for it for the help and pay of those who are supported in the city at the expense of his Majesty, but continues to ask and receive that help and pay from the British government, by which the royal treasury is doubly burdened. This treasure has as yet escaped the hand of the English, but it has fallen into so many that it is difficult for it to come into the hands of those interested; for besides its great danger, it is asserted that the expenses of its conduction, which is not finished as yet as far as Pampanga, exceed one hundred and twenty [pesos] to the thousand, while the pay which is distributed with free hand and other expenses are in excess of thirty thousand pesos per month, as the archbishop has been assured.

77. It is true that there would be no little difficulty in conducting these sums, which the archbishop asks, to the city, and that they would run many dan-

gers; but the difficulty from which Auditor Anda would remove and free himself in its sending is greater and insuperable. This person, quite filled with wrath against the archbishop, by his apprehensions as mistaken as exorbitant, and by his scandalous productions, and who appears to be only trying to make his conduct and zeal for the royal service shine out by blackening that of the archbishop, refused to send the despatches of his Majesty, and those belonging to the archbishop himself, and which had been brought by the "Philipino," although he was ordered to deliver those that belonged to all the tribunals, [religious] communities, and private persons. This refusal shows what would happen to any request for the silver. For if since this retention is opposed to the sovereign respect of his Majesty, by detaining the orders that he may direct to the archbishop in his royal decrees, Anda is trampling also upon the public faith, in what corresponds to the letters, business, commissions, pious funds, and matters of conscience which may be concerned in them, it being quite to the prejudice of the government of the archbishopric and to the public scorn and disrespect of its pastor.

78. Anda's despatch also in regard to the royal seal made it necessary for the archbishop to take extreme precaution so that this royal jewel might not be endangered. This being in the power of the archbishop, had been conserved in his possession with so great secrecy without the least fear. But the said instance and procedure of said open despatch to the vice-chancellor, who was in the house of the archbishop, in his service, divulged the secret in Pampanga, and to not few persons of this city. Conse-

quently, not without manifest danger could it be sent, or could it be preserved in the possession in which it had been, and besides to deliver these royal arms to Anda was to place them in a cruel hand for the abuse and atrocities which are experienced, and without it being possible in present affairs to have their authoritative use, for which they were destined by their sovereign owner.

79. The many persons who are fed with the silver have gone to Pampanga, among whom is a considerable number of military officers – some in order to get what belongs to them, and others for the consideration of larger pay, and all of them and all the other Spaniards incited and threatened by said auditor have been made to incur the inobservance of their oath and their word of honor. And from this irregularity and from others of which the cowardice of the fiscal and his inducements for the same purpose, furnished an example, have come other disorders and disasters of the enemy who have been irritated by these proceedings. Never did the archbishop dissuade or induce any to remain in the city or to leave it, although he well knew that it was impossible to divert some families and the religious communities, and much more those of the feminine sex; but all the fatal consequences that have been mentioned have aided to compress the spirit of the archbishop, who by the singular blessing of God has been able to live and remedy some of the fatalities.

80. He considered nothing more necessary than to petition for mail posts and opportunity to give account of everything to his Majesty, from whose Catholic zeal alone can one hope for the remedy, unless the divine Providence miraculously clears the

way just as is asked from Him, without believing that it is to tempt God, through the most extreme necessities in most important matters, and of His divine service, which intervene and are contained in the present conflicts. And the efforts dictated by the archbishop's prudence and obligation, such as giving a report to his king by two posts, doubling the despatches in the last, by which there comes to be a fourth post, must not be omitted.

The first was in December, when the engineer, Don Miguel Gomez, was sent, who was equipped as well as possible. The second was in March of the present year, by equipping two officers, Don Christoval Ròs, and Don Andres de la Torre; and at the same time in another English fragata with sufficient safety and prudent security. He duplicated the despatches in two English fragatas, addressed to his agent at Cadiz.

81. These are the most important occurrences during the time of the siege, and the period following it. Both the other occurrences previous to the siege, possess the truth that is noted; and these [succeeding it] are proved by the papers and their instruments which have been drawn up. Other verification and authentication was not ready at hand, as it was sent by the letters in the posts above-mentioned which have not gone so bare of certain necessary documents and are not of very small bulk.

SYNOPSIS OF LETTER FROM ANDA TO CARLOS III

June 22, 1764, Don Simon Anda y Salazar sent a letter to the king, in which he showed the measures adopted by him during or in the time of the war with the English, in regard to economic matters of police and public order. They were as follows.

In regard to the fact that prices for provisions, which had become dear because of the English invasion, should be fixed at the prices regulated by custom and tariff, as well as the freight duties of the craft, day wages of stevedores, rent of beasts of burden, and wages of rowers, it was ordered that a tariff be formed in the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga, as they had none.[162]

[The tariff was ordered] so that the coins of two and one-half tomins, one and one-half tomins, diminished by waste, from the value of their stamp, might be received at their intrinsic value; in order that in a determined time, the Sangleys might present themselves under penalty of two hundred lashes, and confiscation of their property, as it was learned that many of the dwellers in the Parián of Manila had

[162] The provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan remained faithful during the English invasion and were the only resource for the Spaniards (Mas, i, p. 160).

entered Pampanga, and had united with those who resided in the villages of the province, and were preparing arms. The object was to disarm them and send them to the Parián. But many of them presented themselves armed and offered to give bonds that they were peaceful and that their arms were employed in the service of his Majesty.

He ascertained that the agreement that they had made with the English was that one thousand Chinese should enter from the Parián of Manila, and distribute themselves through the villages, so that they might fire them at that hour of Christmas eve when the natives should be in the temples, in order that by reason of the confusion, free entrance into the province might be secured for the English. He proceeded to imprison and punish many of them, and gave orders to maintain a suitable guard at the entrances of the bars and villages from the twenty-third to the twenty-fifth of December, 1762; and the religious ministers of the doctrine were not to open their churches or celebrate the divine offices, and to act with all manner of precaution.

Seeing that the Chinese aided the English in their expeditions, and that the chief Sangleys were censuring such conduct as well as that of others of those who plotted the insurrection in Pampanga, he suddenly pardoned them on condition that they would not reside in the provinces without license from the governing Audiencia, not to reside [there] longer than the time he would set, pay a tribute, and not carry food or aid the enemy.

Some submitted, but acted deceitfully, introducing false barrillas into the villages, withdrawing the pesos, giving information to the enemy, and going

freely from the Parián of Manila to the provinces.[163] Others aided the English and supplied them with food. Consequently, it was ordered that the alcaldes-mayor should form a list of the Sangleys, of their provinces, prohibiting their admission unless they had permission from the Audiencia. No one of them was to go from the provinces to Manila and Cavite, under penalty of the confiscation of his property. That checked their insolence in large part, it is said.

He ordered the arms collected for the use of the soldiers.

He forbade more wine than was necessary to be taken from the province of Laguna, because of the disorders produced by drunkenness. In Bacolor the sale of nipa wine was by retail.

He ordered the soldiers who had dispersed when the capture of Manila and Cavite by the English took place to present themselves. They did so, as did also the officers, showing the arms that they possessed.[164]

[163] The Indians and Chinese revolted in San Pablo de los Montes, killing their priest, Francisco Fierro, O.S.A. The people of Tanavan also killed their priest, Andres Enriquez, O.S.A. Other priests of other orders were killed, but members of the Society of Jesus escaped. For they showed themselves two-faced, since on one side, they were for the English, while on the other side, they declared for Anda, who, however, greatly mistrusted them. See Mas, i, pp. 160, 161 (citation from the MS. of Jesus de Santa Maria).

[164] Ferrando (iv, p. 638, note) has the following from a contemporary MS.: "But the most celebrated and comical, was the disappearance of one hundred and thirty-five American soldiers, who by means of a rare stratagem deceived the vigilance of an English company which was guarding them in the castle of San Fernando or the alcaicería of the Chinese. In order that they might succeed in their projected attempt, they mined a bit of land as far as the outlet of the guardhouse, and then asked for permission to enact a farce. Their request was granted without any

In the province of Pampanga, he permitted the free circulation of the barrillas (money made of pinchbeck and tin which the ayuntamiento of Manila coined for purchase at retail, and whose value was that of one grano of a tomin), but since the Sangleys introduced many counterfeit ones, he had to prohibit their circulation.

He ordered Don Francisco Javier Salgado to investigate the extortions and losses caused in the villages of Tondo and Cavite by the militia of Laguna and Tayabas who were assigned to oppose the English, because the leaders of such militia could not make them observe the due subordination. But no injured one presented himself, and accordingly he says that there is no one against whom to proceed, in spite of the fact that the order was published by edict.

He published an edict in regard to weights and measures, in order that they might not be made less or clipped.

He forbade the seculars who had fled to the provinces to obey the summons of the archbishop that they return to Manila.

He ordered the Indians not to go out of their villages without a passport from the gobernadorcillo to

difficulty, and on the day assigned for the representation, the one who took the part of the comedian began to make his conclusion while the others were going out of the mine. Finally the comedian concluded by saying that he was going to call his companions, and went away to where they had escaped. When the sentinels saw that they delayed in coming, suspecting what had really happened, they searched the place where the actors ought to have been. But the latter were already outside of Tondo, and immediately joined a company which Anda, previously notified of the project, had sent them. On account of this jest the English were greatly ashamed, and although they were angry at the occurrence, yet they praised the ingenious stratagem."

villages within the province; and from the governing Audiencia to Manila and its environs, so that they might not carry provisions to Manila.

That order not being sufficient, he issued other edicts making the prohibition more strict especially against the Spaniards.

Having seen that the four churches that were under the cannon of the fort of Manila had been used by the English as fortifications, who committed all manner of profanations, he ordered the necessary arrangements to be made in the villages to burn them, if the enemy attacked.[165] That order poorly understood, exposed the church of Viñan[166] to being unnecessarily burned, but it was saved by order of Anda. He also censured the first provision which he had to revoke.

He prosecuted and punished several spies sent by the English to ascertain what Anda and the loyal troops were doing.

He permitted free trade among the provinces, so that they might have food in abundance. He ordered that all the lands of Pampanga be planted, so far as possible, with rice, sugarcane, etc., and that land in the village of San Ysidro be given to the Tagálogs who had fled from Manila.

He arranged that the food for the provision of the warehouses be bought by the parish priests, and that

[165] This order was given at Apalit, January 27, 1763, and the four churches mentioned were those of Malate, Ermita, Santiago, and San Juan de Bagumbaya. The alcaldes and other officials were ordered to fire any public buildings, churches, or convents, which might serve as fortification to the enemy, immediately, if the village were attacked. See Malo de Luque, v, pp. 281-284; also Montero y Vidal, ii, appendix, pp. 591-593, where it is published entire.

[166] Biñang, in Laguna.

they be paid in cash instead of demanding them through apportionment.

He went out to defend the loyal troops who were maltreated and insulted by the English generals who treated them like dogs. He offered ten thousand pesos for the heads of Drak, Esmith, and Broche.[167]

He granted general exemption from tribute, polos, and personal services, in view of the fact that the English said that they had gone to the islands to free the people from them, which measure proved very useful.

He ordered that in Bacolor and surrounding villages, the bell be rung at nine o'clock at night for all people to retire, and not to be seen on the streets, in order to avoid disorders.

He forbade the sending of skins to Manila in order that the English and Chinese might not use them.

[He forbade] illuminations at night, on the eve and day of the anniversary of birth and the saint's day of the king and prince of Asturias.

He prohibited by edict the Pangasinans from living with their herds on the lands of San Ysidro in order to avoid disorders with the inhabitants of the village over the pastures.

He prohibited games of dice, cockfighting, and cards, in order to avoid the excessive thefts and robberies that were committed. He ordered whoever committed a theft of the sum of one peso to be punished with the capital penalty.

He published a judicial defense in reply to the considerations of father Fray Antonio de las Huertas,

[167] *i.e.*, Drake, Smith, and Brook, the representatives of the East India Company, who were left in charge after Draper and Cornish left.

of the Order of the Preachers, to a memorial which was presented in the royal Council of the Yndias by Father Luis de Morales, of the Society of Jesus, provincial of his order for the province of Filipinas.

Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus, provincial general of his order for the provinces of Yndias in Madrid, is the author of the memorial.[168]

It is the defense of the Society of Jesus against the writings of the archbishop of Manila, Pardo, and his partisans, published in Madrid, and the Roman court, which attributed to the Jesuits complicity in the questions aroused by the governor of Filipinas and the Audiencia.[169]

[168] This is the "Manifesto juridico defensorio en respuesto de los reparos hechos por el Padre Fray Antonio de las Huertas, de el Orden de Predicadores, a un Memorial que en Real Consejo de las Indias presentó el Padre Luis A. de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador de su Religion, por las Provincias de Filipinas. Escrivele el Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Compañia de Jesus, Provincial General de su Religion, por las Provincias de Indias [Madrid, *ca.*, 1680]." Pedro de Espinar died at Madrid, August 31, 1795. Luis de Morales was born at Tordesillas, September 29, 1641, and entered the Society August 28, 1658. After going to Manila he acted as missionary at various places, and in 1685 went to Europe as procurator. He was appointed visitor of Mexico, and then provincial of the Philippine missions, and finally rector of the Manila college, where he died, June 14, 1716. See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque.*

[169] This last paragraph is evidently a note by Ventura del Arco.

LETTER FROM ANDA TO CARLOS III

Sire:

This capital having been taken by assault, October 5, 62; your archbishop-governor, auditors, troops, and citizens having been made prisoners; the fort of Santiago and port of Cavite having been surrendered; all the islands having been ceded afterwards, and four millions of pesos; and the city having been sacked with the greatest severity for the space of forty-eight hours: I having declared myself that same day, in the province of Bulacan, where I was, as royal Audiencia, governor, and captain-general of said islands, in accordance with the law, very great was the effort of your archbishop to efface this image of your Majesty which had remained in these islands, represented, although unworthily, in my person. In order to show that more conclusively, I enclose his own manifest letters with the testimony. Those letters gave motive to this your royal governing Audiencia to form an informatory process from them of pure and naked fact, in order to instruct your royal mind. I shall not refer to them *in extenso* in this my representation which is directed to your Majesty. Upon examining them, will you please state which of the two proceeded more in accordance with right, law, and religion, to the love and fidelity

which each one owes his sovereign as a good vassal: the reverend archbishop, who tried by so many methods, to cast to the earth this legitimate image which represented and defended your royal rights, even to the point of declaring him a traitor, rebel, and disobedient to his own sovereign, and to that of Gran Bretaña; or I, who suffering and enduring all these things, made use of your royal power, insulted and abased by so many enemies and traitors, by making you truly recognized again in these vacillating fields of Christianity, until you became the terror of all the many enemies who had declared against you, reducing the greatest and most principal from a victorious conqueror to a truly starving prisoner. For the latter did not even have more than nor even as much as the balance of the cannon of the fort which he occupied, a limit set for his soldiers under pain of losing life if they went beyond it.[170] Thus did I redeem not only the relief and liberty of this most afflicted community and its environs, but what is more yet, its wealth and the most principal thing, the religion and the honor due your Majesty, which being so exposed seemed about to be entirely lost.

I protest, Sire, that whatever I say in this my representation and advance in my treatise, is not for the purpose of injuring that venerable prelate whom I have ever regarded with the respect due the prince of the Church; and if I transgress in any way, and

[170] The British forces were greatly diminished through intemperance, sexual excesses, the heat, and carelessness of diet. They asked aid from Madras, which was about to be sent when the news of the peace came. At that time the forces at Manila were reduced to eight hundred men, and were already resolving on means of defense, and if need be, capitulation. See Le Gentil, ii, pp. 265, 266.

do not express myself with that moderation suitable, I protest that my words may not serve as an offense to his dignity, and that I have been actuated in this by only a real affection, with the desire that your Majesty may be informed of the acts of turbulence which have occurred in these domains, in order that you may better provide for the best government and relief of them.

So far as I am concerned, I claim or desire no other satisfaction than what I have in this as I have desired to serve your Majesty, since the greatest satisfaction is for your royal piety to consider itself as well served by me if you find it consistent.[171] But if it should appear to your supreme comprehension that the so public excesses of your reverend archbishop, as appear from the said testimony, of which I shall enclose some here, merit satisfaction, this alone concerns your Majesty.

I am unaware as to the motives of said prelate, that made him, although it had no bearing on the end, for which he despatched me from the fort, and so to the injury of your Majesty's interests, when finding himself a prisoner of war with my associates, order me in a letter of October 10, 62, among other things: "*to observe faithfully the treaties which were being arranged with the British chiefs in Manila.*" Although I answered him from the province of Bulacan in the most courteous and fitting terms, this was not sufficient to restrain his pen, and on the twenty-

[171] Le Gentil (ii, pp. 272, 273) records that Anda was made a counsellor of Castile by the king as a recompense for his services. In addition he also asked money from the friars for the service which he had rendered them, but they refused to give him any, employing to convey their refusal a lawyer of Manila, named Dr. Aranas.

sixth of the same month he wrote me pouring out instead of ink, blood and rage against my loyal procedure.

In the so great consternation in which the loss of Manila placed your vassals, and for this reason many of the criminal class having fled from prison, and continuing their depraved morals, they threw into disorder the environs of this city and its immediate villages. Your reverend archbishop did not allow the perverse Orendain and Don Cesar Fallet[172] the declared enemies of your Majesty, to stir from his side. They, availing themselves of the disturbances caused by these malevolent persons, painted those disturbances to his Excellency, saying that there was sedition and unrest among all the Indians, who, having conspired against the Spaniards, were persecuting them as wild beasts; that already in one province one of them had elevated himself as emperor and refused obedience to your Majesty; that the province of Bulacan was in the same condition; that all the others would follow their example; that one of these days they would have Señor Anda tied up, if they did not first deprive him of life; that consequently, as it was advisable to the services of both Majesties and for the public quiet, and so that so much Christian blood might not be shed, his Excellency ought to yield all the islands, and cause Señor Anda to descend; that if he did not condescend to do so, nothing else would result than the ruin of all these domains, the loss of Christianity, and the execution by the English of the sentence that had been pronounced of put-

[172] Fayette was offered the command of the government at Zamboanga for the English; as was also a Spaniard named Luis Sandoval: but it was refused by both (Mas, i, p. 137).

ting to the sword all the Spaniards; that your Majesty would never be able to consider yourself as well served; and that consequently he should have a regard to his conscience.

I understand well, Sire, how if he considered all those motives, and that from them would follow the total ruin of these islands, he should then on that account have condescended to redeem them [from ruin] by ceding them, in regard to the fact that this could not be of any service to the English, since it only concerns your Majesty. But to give credit to these two traitors, who knowingly exaggerated these disturbances to him, and not to proceed, with more knowledge, to write me in place of the letters ordering the Spaniards to descend, to inform him regarding the condition of the provinces, and advise me, for my course, of what was happening in Manila, by directing prudently so glorious an end after the twenty odd days that the fort had been taken; and continuing the obligation to surrender these domains with the tenacity which his above-cited letters show, (although the most of the suggestions of the two traitors were now seen to be false, as the provinces were quiet), he proceeded to sign the cession, and even after seeing the Catholic arms so flourishing and powerful, whose victories, patent to all the world, were incredible to his Excellency, yet he prosecuted this undertaking even to the grave.[173] In truth, Sire, I do not know what apology that venerable prelate can give your Majesty for such actions.

In view of an anonymous letter which your royal

[173] The English took charge of Rojo's obsequies since the Spaniards were too poor to do so, according him military honors on a magnificent scale (Le Gentil, ii, p. 271).

Audiencia received in Bulacan, in regard to the English having offered a reward to whomever would take them my head, and other methods, in which apparently the reverend archbishop was prudently walking, I despatched to this latter a request and petition asking him to abstain from such procedures and not to summon the alcaldes, natives, or Spaniards who had retired, both because his powers had expired, and because although he did possess such powers, they ought to be used to the benefit of your Majesty, and not in opposition to you. But this did not even restrain him in the idea that had taken possession of him, since already from the twenty-third day, he had ordered me to descend to Manila, and although he saw my resistance in my accommodating myself to his ideas, which were so opposed to your royal rights, he wrote me lastly on the fourth of November in the terms that his said letter shows,[174] and which I myself am ashamed to mention, referring myself to the enclosed testimony.

He ordered the alcalde-mayor of Bulacan, Don José Pasarin, who recognized me from the first as your royal Audiencia, to cause all the Spaniards and their families to descend to Manila, even threatening him with censures if he did not obey. This order included among the Spaniards my assembly secretary, my advocate, my fiscal, and Doctor Don Domingo Arañaz,[175] one of the advocates of this city. But neither they nor said alcalde-mayor, recognizing the very great service which was being done for his Majesty and for religion in [not] consenting to the ideas of the reverend archbishop to deprive me of

[174] See synopsis of this letter, *ante*, pp. 142-143.

[175] See *ante*, pp. 136-137, note 80.

those whom I considered capable of some aid in sustaining the weak remnants of your Majesty's adherents, would pay any attention [to the order]. On the contrary, they were the ones, who with my attendants accompanied me in all my labors, and formed my only consolation in the total abandonment and persecution which I suffered during the first six months. For all the other Spaniards who were in that province, carried away either by these persuasions, or through their terror and the threats of the enemy, or from seeing the many atrocities committed by the Indians against them through some trouble that they had had with them, at the most, I am sure, by their natural inclination to live according to their own wishes, or for the reason of the party of your Majesty being so few in numbers, went down, and some with their possessions, to render obedience to the English.

He ordered the marquis of Monte Castro to return to Manila; and Don Andres Blanco, who could not do so through his indisposition, to send his son, availing himself, in order to oblige them the more, of the expressions which may be seen in the letters of testimony which are worth your Majesty's attention.

He wrote in terms apparently so Christian to the provincials of the Franciscan and Recollect orders, and recognizing himself as the greatest sinner, confesses that he alone is the cause of all these misfortunes and that God is punishing his flock for his sins.

Anyone would believe, in view of this so simple understanding of himself, and a so clear confession of his defects, that it was a true repentance and grief at seeing the miseries and havoc from which this city and its environs were suffering, in spiritual and temporal matters. But it is not so, Sire, for at the same

time, he sends pastoral letters to said provincials, for the Indians of their provinces, in which, with the greatest simulated virtue, and pretending the greatest advantages to your royal rights, he persuades them to become subject to the English. For that purpose he sings a thousand praises of this nation but for the purpose of surprising the incautious simplicity of these silly Indians, for whom he had said letters translated into their languages in order that the poison which they held might work effects more favorable to his ideas.

Neither the threats of the enemy, nor the ostentation which this one made of his power, nor the alliance of the apostate Sangleys, declared in his favor and against your Majesty, nor the abandonment in which I remained because of the absence of the few Spaniards, who were in the provinces, nor the endurance of which I made use to dissimulate many things which I heard and saw among these poor miserable Indians for want of instruction, education, and communication with civilized people, nor the schisms and rebellion of some provinces: none of these things, Sire, was so keenly felt by me as the acts of the reverend archbishop, which were so irregular and far from the truth; of a prelate, who instead of furnishing an example, served as a stimulus to the traitors who leaning on the authority which is represented among such lofty subjects, were confident of the virtue and zeal of this prelate, only to become inflamed against me and avail themselves of his destructive ideas of this your state and religion.

It is left for the supreme intelligence of your Majesty to consider the great grief caused this royal Audiencia which was governing, to see an ecclesias-

tical prelate who had just been military and political head, who spared no means in order to sacrifice these your domains, which he ought to have conserved for so many reasons, or at least have maintained an indifferent attitude in the condition of prisoner.

What Catholic and loyal vassal of your Majesty could see without great grief a pastor persuading his sheep in said letters that they should submit to Gran Bretaña? Further on, he says: "*If you do as I exhort and advise you, you will receive the reward from God, and for the contrary, the punishment; and if you observe this, you will be good vassals of my king and my faithful children.*"

In truth, Sire, such propositions in writing from an ecclesiastical prelate are of the greatest scandal for the community and very suspicious for the faith due to both Majesties.

What doctrine, what religion is this, in which one sees that a pastor, so repentant and full of grief for the troubles of his flock in the power of the heretical enemy, at the same time, with so efficacious and mild words induces those who are free to surrender to the same enemy! That is the same as to deliver them to the wolf so that that animal may tear them to pieces and destroy them with the same hardships which he bewails in the others. To recognize a sin, to confess it with show of repentance and to commit a greater of the same kind: what doctrine, I repeat, is this?

A rare thing, the eagerness with which this reverend prelate undertook and prosecuted a matter so extraordinary and harmful! A good proof of this truth is what results from the above-cited letters written to the subjects abovesaid, and which are expressed in the said testimony which I enclose. The

archbishop signs some *as governor of Manila, although a prisoner*; in others as governor and captain-general; and in others, he adds, "*of these islands.*" But if these islands had been already ceded to the enemy, and that surrender had been made, who could commit a greater incongruity than to call himself governor of what he had already lost, since he surrendered and ceded it to the English?

The letter which he writes to the Marquis of Monte Castro begins thus: "*Yesterday afternoon, the present governor of Manila and his council imprisoned*, etc., *Manuel Antonio, archbishop-governor.*" Consequently, at one and the same time we have three governors – the Englishman, recognized by the archbishop; the latter, for thus he signed; and myself, because your Majesty gave me that post by your laws.

Whether the honors of such post ought or ought not to be kept for him does not serve as an excuse to the reverend archbishop; or that he had hopes of again holding such office by the right of postliminy: for this at most does not go beyond honors, and hopes are kept without in any way becoming real, for this office was confirmed in me already by virtue of laws lvii and lviii, book ii, título xv of the *Recopilación*;[176] and even according to the first, by the right of postliminy, the reverend archbishop had no right to administer that office, again, since it orders expressly that when your royal Audiencia assumes the office, it hold it until your Majesty appoints to it.[177]

[176] Le Gentil (ii, p. 268, *et seq.*), who was influenced by his friendship with Rojo's nephew, jests at Anda's pretensions to the office of governor and captain-general and underrates his ability.

[177] During the sickness of the archbishop, the question arose as to his successor in the government (an office really held by Anda).

The fact is that in the despatches sent by the English to the traitor Diego Silang to Ylocos, and in the edicts which they published, when they name the reverend archbishop, they say "ex-governor." How could it be otherwise, as he was in the domains of the king of Ynglaterra, and was not the one appointed by the latter, and their governor would be opposed to your Majesty. That was the manner of procedure in regard to the title, until his burial. He performed judicial acts by means of the false secretary Monrroy and others in whatever he thought best, with the most special circumstance that he was always in favor of the English and opposed to the rights of your Majesty and your vassals.

And hence it is seen that although the English treated him with the greatest contempt, and confessed that I was acting as a loyal vassal of your Majesty, he would never relinquish the title of governor, or recognize in me your royal Audiencia, in accordance with the laws; and he died in the same conviction, as one may see by his last will, when he left to the governor, who should come from España, a carriage and its horses, so that he might make use of it, and ordered this cabildo to deliver to the same a sealed box, containing the papers, which were to be sent to your

Villacorta, who had joined Anda, and who had been left in Bacolor by the latter who had gone to attend to camp matters, claimed the office as senior auditor. Anda, hearing of the matter, immediately returned to Bacolor. Villacorta passed the matter off as mere conversation. But Anda investigating further, found that Galbán and Viana claimed that Bishop Ustáriz should be governor, in accordance with royal orders. Anda sought advice from various ecclesiastics, but they all refused any direct answer except the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Recollect provincials, who declared in Anda's favor. The discussion was finally ended by the arrival of the new governor *ad interim*, Francisco de la Torre. See Mas, i, pp. 188-191.

Majesty. Thus was it done without any mention of me, except to persecute me, as if I were not governor in your Majesty's name.

Of this fact and others, my successor, Don Francisco Javier de la Torre, will give account. The latter brought to the royal assembly the measure in regard to your royal seal which was melted by order of the archbishop, who always refused to send it to your royal Audiencia. And although I petitioned it from him in my first letter of October 20, 62, and there followed in regard to it a measure on which I report separately in so far as it concerns me, the pretext that is inferred because of such a demonstration with this so estimable jewel of your Majesty is surprising; and it is surprising to say that he executed it because of its difficulty in the gates of the city and the risk which it ran of falling into the hands of the enemy. However, it is a fact that there was no danger at all. For when I petitioned it of him, I told him that he could deliver it to the person who carried my letter, a man in whom I had complete confidence. Besides he could have sent it safely by the religious whom the English used as their ambassadors to me, or by the adjutant whom the reverend archbishop himself sent to me to inform me of the suspension of hostilities. But since his intention was no other than to deprive this your image of whatever rights could represent it, legitimately and truly, on that account it was more difficult for him to send the royal seal of so little bulk than to me the withdrawal from the fort of the sum of more than one hundred thousand pesos of property which your Majesty needed for your troops, and which I placed in the royal storehouses of those provinces.

It appears that the disrespect committed toward so sacred a jewel in which your Majesty is immediately represented, cannot be greater, and it would surely have been treated with more honor if it had fallen into the hands of the enemy. This fact is sufficient to confirm the persecution that was declared, by which he aimed to erase your royal name from these domains. For in truth, what other impulse could he have had, when it is public and well known that the English meddled with nothing that concerned his palace after the sack? Above all he was immune and free from this for a long time after, and no one would deny that if he delivered it safely to the cabildo when melted, in the same way he could have delivered it entire.

By the letter written by the above-mentioned prelate, under date of October 30, 62, to Don Andres Blanco, your Majesty may see that he treats me as a rebel. The English condemned me as a rebel and disobedient to both Majesties on the fourth of November. It resulting from said sentence that I was condemned by both parties, it is proved conclusively that I was condemned by the reverend archbishop before I was condemned by the English, and that the archbishop concurred with them when they sentenced me. And it is a fact, and all Manila knew it and saw him present at the council of the English on the day on which they pronounced so unheard-of a sentence.

With these facts cited, and signed by the hand of the reverend archbishop, one can recognize clearly the faith that is merited by a letter which it appears that he wrote in regard to his actions and the protests of which I am told he made before dying.

If all those who died were St. Pauls and the reverend archbishop had shown the actions of such an one and of a royal vassal of your Majesty, it is certain that his sayings and expressions ought to be of great appreciation. But since he was so opposed to the rights of your Majesty, to those of religion, and that which is least to my honor, it has been absolutely necessary to draw up this informatory process purely and nakedly made, so that after examining it, your Majesty may take the most advisable measures.

I confess to being the least and most useless of your vassals, but in fidelity, zeal, and disinterestedness to your Majesty's service, I do not yield to the highest. Consequently, so far as it concerns me, I would have kept quiet about the ugly stigma of traitor, simply in order not to reveal the omissions of a prelate, recognizing its nullity because of the defects of jurisdiction in this one and in the English; and that I cannot be a rebel to your Majesty when defending your states, nor to the English since I am not nor have any desire of being an English vassal. Hence said sentence well understood becomes a new proof of my nobility and loyalty. It is a shame to the truth of the nation that it has had a vassal of so extraordinary thought, and that he could take example from the very enemy. For although it is true that these followed the rules, because of their utility and convenience in this matter, of the reverend archbishop, notwithstanding that they gave me the title of general and commander-in-chief of the troops of your Majesty in the provinces, and finally recognized me as your Audiencia, governor, and captain-general. However, the reverend archbishop, although your

vassal, and so honored, passed to the other life, without doing it. It is a fact that the English declared me a rebel and traitor; confiscated and sold my property as such; declared your troops in public edicts to be canaille and robbers; and your artillery captured in the foundry of Bulacan for more contempt, was placed under the gallows of this city. Barbarous and unheard of are these acts of disrespect against the supreme honor of your Majesty, to whom it alone belongs to ask for the fitting satisfaction, and to me to report it. But surely the English would not have incurred them, had the reverend archbishop borne himself as he ought to have done as a prisoner and had he not treated me as an insurgent. But since the reverend archbishop and his partisans and many traitors of both estates whom your Majesty has had, forced the title of rebel and insurgent against me; and although I was unworthy, I was the only one in whom your royal name was conserved which since it was becoming utterly despised in these islands, it appeared absolutely necessary to me, because of the vassalage which I owe to your Majesty, to defend your name, although opposed by so many dangers to my life, surrounded by traitors and assassins, who came from Manila to attack my person, which without a soldier or the slightest war equipment, during the first six months it was conserved, I believe, by divine Providence alone for defending a cause so just as the side of your Majesty.[178] On the day when

[178] On arriving at Bacolor, Anda speedily improvised a powder factory and foundry, and assumed the offensive immediately. The powder factory was directed by fathers Eugenio Garrido, parish priest of San Miguel de Mayumo, and Agustín María Castro, O.S.A.; and the foundry, by Father Facundo Acosta. See Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 39 and note.

they captured the fort, the enemy had more friends in it than your Majesty, but much of it was in imitation of a prelate who had just been governor, whose persuasions and threats were alone directed to surrendering everything to the English.

Even if I had understood the law badly, and I had no right by it to be the governing Audiencia, it was sufficient to have hoisted your royal standard, so that every loyal vassal might follow it, and with greater reason, those of character, distinguished and honored by your Majesty.

I received a letter from the governor of Zamboanga, Don Ygnacio Andrade, which an English captain left him for the reverend archbishop, written in the port of San Jorge, June 7, 1762, and signed by Jorge Pigot, Governor of Madrast. By its expressions one can see the close and previous correspondence which the reverend archbishop had with the English. It must be noted that the said captain, Darrimple [*i.e.*, Dalrymple] whom it cites later as having sounded all these islands, of which repeated advices were given to the reverend archbishop, came to cast anchor in this bay, in the year 61, without allowing aboard his vessel the guard which the fort sent to him. And instead of securing him, he showed him many courtesies. That captain dined at the palace, examined all the walls, its strength, the beach, even the powder factory, sounded the entire bay, and information having been given to the fort of this innovation, by a sentinel, yet he was allowed to go out freely when he pleased. For those special favors, the said governor of Madrás gives him [*i.e.*, the archbishop] many thanks, and although it is not expressed in the letters, the head of the staff

Signature of Simon de Anda y Salazar

[*Photographic facsimile from original MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

which he sends him. The said governor of Zamboanga sent it as a gift from the English to the reverend archbishop, who did not care to have his name mixed up in a matter so delicate.

Lastly, I add for the more complete conviction of your reverend archbishop, the fact that he refused to send the seal to this your royal Audiencia, which existed as long as it cared in the barrio of Santa Cruz; and that rice growers lived outside the walls of this city, where trade and commerce with the provinces was both free and continuous, and whence I got the one hundred thousand pesos of said effects, and most of the war supplies which were the greatest danger, but not the royal seal.

May God preserve the Catholic royal person of your Majesty for the protection of these fields of Christendom. Manila, July 23, 764.[179]

DON SIMON DE ANDA Y SALAZAR

[179] The original of this letter exists in *Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, "Colección Mata Linares, tomo 97" (Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 50, note).

LETTER FROM VELA TO GONZALEZ

✠

My brother, Antonio Gonzalez:

The letter which you wrote from Madrid arrived together with that of this place, but no other has arrived. By the same boat also came [news of] the peace, whereupon the English again delivered the place to our governor.[180] It was almost bare of cannon, as the English had taken them. For eighteen months were we under the rule of the heretic, with sufferings greater than can be imagined there. They acted toward us worse than do the victorious Turks toward those whom they conquer. *However, Manila well deserved it, not indeed, because of its total lack of all Christian procedure, but singularly because of its cursed neglect of politics,* as if the whole world had to respect and fear us because of our boasting that we are Spaniards.

Manila is a place, which, by its fortification, by its swampy site, by its location surrounded by a river larger than the Tajo at Toledo, and by a low sea, and because the only time at which it can be attacked is at the time of the fierce winds and heavy and almost continuous rains – it is, I say – for all these

[180] Shortly before leaving Manila the British lost a ship which was burned at Cavite, forty-three men perishing (*Sitio y conquista*, p. 130).

reasons, almost invincible, with less than a medium defense of true militia. For no power can place here fifteen or twenty thousand well drilled men. All that would be necessary, in order to oppose a moderate defense by one thousand or one thousand five hundred well-drilled men, established in Manila, and aided by the inhabitants and volunteer Indians. But on the present occasion, when the sole sinews of the English were about one thousand five hundred Europeans, and the rest [of their men] about five thousand, whom they said were ragamuffins from Asia, with the carriages and horses of Manila driven along its beach, the English could not have effected a landing. *But our archiepiscopal government, counseled by worthless hearts and by traitors*, allowed the English to disembark without opposition. The fifteen ships cannonaded to no purpose; and because a cannon caused the greatest ship to retire, order was given not to fire from the fort without orders, and that it was to be used for the attack by land. Some commanded, others countermanded, because they asserted that they would anger the English more. A reënforcement of drilled Indians came, but they were not allowed to make a sally, for the archbishop-governor said that it was better to seize the enemy without grievously vexing him. In a sally, the Indians reached quite to the artillery abandoned by the English. The enemy rallied, and the Indians not having any disciplined reënforcement, fell back. Four days of heavy rains, and boisterous winds, which God sent, and by which one ship was driven ashore, and the others endeavored only to look out for themselves, gained nothing for the obstruction of the English, neither toward the sea, nor toward

[land]. Their powder was used up, *and they dead with hunger and with cold, could not resist. It was thus that the traitors arranged it with the worthy archbishop, who would listen to no one but to those who had the boldness to introduce English officers who had been invited to dine, into Manila. There it was agreed that the assault was to be made October 5, and that all would be defenseless and open. So it happened.* At seven or eight o'clock, it was ordered that the garrison of the attacked bastion and of its lateral, should retire to breakfast. Some loyal men refused, as they were fearful of the outcome. Thereupon, the English attacked the bastion, which did not even have any breach, but some holes which [occur] in the soft stone of this region. And climbing from hole to hole, and those from below aiding those who were climbing, they mounted the bastion. The lateral, although it did not have more than three men, fired a cannon contrary to orders, and others also captured the highest officer of the attack. It was enough to make all the rest of the English retire; but encouraged by seeing their men in the attacked bastion, and that the lateral was now firing no more, for the three alone could not manage their cannons, the crowd mounted the bastion, *and then a traitor guided them.* There was no reserve in the fort for such a blow. They reached the square of the palace, where only the Indians resisted them. But they yielded to the instances of some Spaniards who saw that resistance was already dangerous. The archbishop-governor left the citadel where he could have defended himself very easily: and he could even have easily recovered the fort and chapter house; but neither one nor the others did that.

The citadel was to be surrendered, as well as Cavite, but our ship which was coming was to be left alone, if they had not already captured it before the fifth of October. *A few days after, all the islands were likewise to be delivered up, and four millions* [*of pesos*].

Auditor Anda departed one day before with authority from the governor and Audiencia, to maintain royal jurisdiction in the islands. He did so as by a miracle, having retired to Pampanga. The English wished to first conquer Pasig, which was guarded by Indians. They attained their end after a short bombardment, and opened a passage to the provisions of Laguna. They thought it best also to go to Pampanga to destroy Señor Anda, but having been attacked about one legua or so from Manila by Señor Anda's men, they were completely routed, and left many slain. The survivors fled to Manila as best they could, notwithstanding that a third part of our men, deceived by the traitors of Manila, did not attack, contrary to the order of Señor Anda. The English and their allies, our traitors, seeing that it was difficult by force, devoted their energies to trickery. First, they tried to induce the Chinese to kill Señor Anda, as he was now cried by heralds as a traitor to the king and a reward of two or four thousand pesos promised to whomever should kill and deliver him up. The Chinese had agreed upon the fitting night to kill him and all the Spaniards of his faction. A few days before, having some suspicion, he seized a letter from a Chinese written in Chinese characters to another Chinese of Manila. He summoned a Chinese mestizo to interpret it. But either for malice or through ignorance, the latter said what-

ever came into his head. Thereupon, he made use of a Dominican Chinese, who declared the treason of the letter. Days before the arrival of this declaration, everything was already known, because a Chinese fired a blunderbuss at Señor Anda which only damaged his coat. Thereupon, he seized as many Chinese as he could with his small troop of Spaniards and Indians, and after taking their depositions had them hanged. There were more than two hundred [of them]. Many others who escaped informed the English and Chinese of Manila, and the latter petitioned the English to kill all the Spaniards of Manila, while they would do the same with those outside, without excepting the ecclesiastics. The English would not consent, but determined to attack Pampanga, encouraged more by the treason of the Indians of Laguna who treacherously killed their alcalde and other Spaniards, and set another ambush for those who escaped on the following day, though the latter also escaped that. The cause for this attempt was that the alcalde punished the captain of a village because he had invited all the province to welcome the English with a hundred maidens so that they might have their aid in killing all the Spaniards. The hardships that the Spaniards, who fled from the English, suffered in all the villages of Laguna, are unspeakable.

With these results the English were emboldened to besiege Bulacan, in order to open a road to Pampanga. Aided by the Sangleys, and much more by the Spanish traitors of Manila, who gave them the method of being able to attain it, and secretly perverted many chiefs of the village, the English set out on the roads shown them by the traitors. Although

it cost them many people, they seized the church, for the Spaniards ran short of powder, as the Indians, induced by the Spaniards of Manila, had hidden it. But the loyal Spaniards of Bulacan, by means of stratagem and trickery, held the English besieged in the same church. Three times did the latter receive reënforcements of supplies and men from Manila, but they were never able to pass. Finally, those who were left returned to Manila with great loss. And not even one would have returned had it not been that continually, because of the treachery of the Indians, they found the few Spaniards without powder.

The English tried, finally, to drive out the rest, so that they could seize the silver of our ship, and attacked our advance troop with great secrecy. They reached the troop at dawn. The fire was heavy, and caused the English to retire completely routed; and had we not lacked carriages to our cannons, not a single Englishman would have returned to Manila, where they arrived scattered, and with many of the chief officers wounded. Our killed did not reach the number of ten, while theirs, counting the Chinese, exceeded one thousand. Next night they endeavored to prevent our troops from taking the bells of Quiapo for cannons, and without succeeding against only fifteen Spaniards, they lost more than fifty English and more than two hundred Chinese. They attempted to enter Pampanga by sea with one ship and small boats, but they left many dead on the beach and some of their boats, while the ship and those who could get back to it fled to Cavite. In fine, we have found them cowardly; and had they not been aided by traitors and Chinese they would not have captured Manila, nor after capturing it could they have re-

tained it two months. The losses which have been incurred because of them exceed four millions. Father Joaquin Mezquida and Father Patricio del Barrio are going [to Spain] as procurators, and they can tell much, although not all.

Father Mezquida is taking one hundred pesos so that my brother, your uncle, Manuel, may divide them equally among your mother, my sister Ana, my brother Lucas, and my sister Juana; the children also of my brother Joseph sharing equally – not each one a part, but one part among them all. I do not know whether this will reach the ship, and I am making the greatest efforts in writing, for I am secretary to the provincial Pazuengos whom you knew there.

My brother will tell my brother Manuel that I wrote him quite at length by the ship captured by the English, thanking him for the aid which he extended to Ana's two children; and that in regard to the other matter between him and his wife, it is better for him to do it alone, and it will be better for his nephews, and that he should forget the wrongs that come to his mind. Tell him also to send me by Father Patricio two pairs of gray worsted stockings because my legs get cold, some pairs of scissors of good temper, and some boxwood combs. I tell you this in case I can not write it to him. And since my [brother] lives in Madrid, let him get from the fathers the Mercurios[181] and interesting papers that

[181] This is probably the *Mercure de France*, which was founded by Visé, in 1672, under the name of *Mercure galant*, and is the second oldest paper of France. The name *Mercure de France* was adopted by Lefevre in 1714. In 1788 a political part was added under the title "Historical and political news." The publication of the sheet was abandoned in 1799, resumed again for the years 1814-1823, and definitely abandoned in 1825. A number of papers have adopted the name *Mercure* in imitation of it. See *Grand Dictionnaire* (Paris), vol. xi.

are published and send them to me. Little by little, my brother can get many of them, for after some months, people do not care for them, and do not object to giving them.

Tell your mother, when you see her, to pray God for me often, and that I hope that my desires of seeing her in heaven soon will be answered, for now my health is not what it was before. Manila, July 24, 1764. My brother's humble servant,

BALTASAR VELA (rubric)

[*Addressed*: "To Brother Antonio Gonzalez, of the Society of Jesus, and if he be dead, to his superior. Madrid."]

SYNOPSIS OF COMMUNICATIONS BY ANDA TO CARLOS III

Substantial extract of the result and purpose of forty-six representations made to his Majesty by Don Simon de Anda Salazar, informing him of what he has done as Audiencia, governor, and captain-general of Filipinas during all the time that the English occupied the city of Manila and its port of Cavite, under terms of the capitulation which was made between the English general and the reverend archbishop who was governing those islands at that time.

All the representations are dated June and July, of last year 1764. Among them some relate that the archbishop-governor and the other auditors of that Audiencia having been made prisoners of war in Manila, Don Simon not having been included among them because of being in the village of Bulacan at that time, attending to the general inspection of all the provinces of the district of that Audiencia, in accordance with the order and prescription of law clxxx of título xv, book ii of the laws of the Yndias, by which it is ordered that if the auditors of the Audiencia are absent and only one of them remain, the Audiencia is to be conserved and continued in him as said governor and captain-general, in accordance with other determining laws.

Under this character, he proceeded immediately to enact measures according as his spirit dictated to him, both for the military, and in order to restrict the English to the vicinity of Manila, causing himself to be obeyed, assembling troops, furnishing arms, getting ammunition, and doing in this line whatever he could, the most experienced and practical general making sallies, holding functions, remaining glorious in his expeditions, and the enemy conquered and intimidated.

In regard to what concerns the representation of the Audiencia, he exercised all the jurisdiction which belonged to it, administering justice to the parties at law, punishing criminals, and fulminating causes against those under suspicion of disloyalty.

As governor he attended to all economic matters. In order that provisions might not fail, or be sold at a dearer price than they had before the siege of Manila in those provinces, for that purpose he made regulations, published edicts, imposing severe penalties on those who transgressed them. By this method he obtained the end which he desired. He also succeeded in getting the royal official treasurer who had removed the treasury from Manila as soon as the squadron of the enemy entered that bay, to transfer it from the province of Laguna to that of Bulacan, where the above-mentioned Don Simon was stationed in order that he might have some means to meet the needs that might arise. He forbade anyone to dare to go to the city of Manila, or under any pretext, to carry food, or arms [thither]. Neither was permission given to give entrance, lodging, aid, or help to the English. Those vassals obeyed that as well as the calced religious of St. Augustine, who had the province of Bulacan in charge. The Augustinians

attended the several meetings which he called, all of them showing love and zeal for the service of their king and sovereign, and a blind obedience to Don Simon de Anda, whom they recognized as Audiencia, governor, and captain-general. They succeeded in preventing the blotting out of the name of his Majesty from those provinces, and observed a steadfast obedience to him.[182]

There result also the various measures which he enacted in order to assure the patache "Filipino" and its wealth, which came from Acapulco and had arrived at the province of Leite, and which was thought to be exposed to surprise and capture by the enemy. Those attempts succeeded so happily that they were landed and taken overland to the province of Pampanga.

The treasure carried by said patache belonging to his Majesty, the ecclesiastical estate, and the trade of those islands, reached the sum of two million two hundred and fifty-three thousand one hundred and eleven pesos. To that sum was added fifty-six thousand pesos which were collected from various private persons, in obedience to the order despatched for that purpose. And with previous proof that they, the interested persons, were faithful vassals, and by virtue of the reports of two arbitrators of the commerce, he delivered them some sums so that they could support themselves. He also caused the wine

[182] When Manila was surrendered, in order to receive the Augustinian convent, it was necessary for the provincial to make a contract to pay 10,000 pesos, in case that the confiscation of its effects should be considered as proper in the courts of Madrid and London. The British court approved the operations of the English council, and by virtue of their sentence, an Englishman went to Madrid to collect the 10,000 pesos. See Mas, i, p. 195, note.

casks, chests, and other articles of volume, which the said patache carried to be kept until he placed all in safety with the exception of the cargo of a champan which was lost in the province of Batangas. Among those effects was the stamped [*i.e.*, official] paper. As soon as Manila was surrendered and the English dislodged, Don Simon placed in the hands of his successor, Don Francisco de la Torre, the testimony of the acts which he had drawn up in this particular for its convoy, and asserts that from the saving of the wealth of said patache has resulted the conservation of the islands, and that the English did not leave them completely desolate, since without this aid, the subsistence of the state would have been impossible.

He also gives information that the English declared him a rebel and offered a reward for his head, having made two embassies to him through Father Bernardo Pazuengos, provincial of the Society of Jesus, and Fray Pedro Luis de Sierra, of the Order of Preachers. The first one having gone without any credentials or authorization, but only as referring to the British governor, and having refused to make a deposition before a notary who might attest it, saying that he was to treat alone and in secret with Don Simon in regard to the matter for which he went, therefore audience was refused him, and he was despatched with a warning.

At the second embassy, inasmuch as letters were taken from the archbishop and from the auditor Don Francisco Enrriquez de Villacorta and from the above-mentioned father provincial in which they intimated to him that they would admit means of peace, in order to free the said auditor from the sentence of death, passed upon him by the council of

war of the British nation, because some letters which he had written had been intercepted, he would not consent to it, and despatched the religious and ordered edicts to be published in opposition to theirs, offering ten thousand pesos to whomever would deliver alive or dead each one who had signed the edict [against him]. Finally, there was a suspension of hostilities until the evacuation of the fort. During this interim, the province of Ylocos revolted and rendered homage to the king of Gran Bretaña. At its head was Diego Silan, a Pangasinan Indian, a plebeian, who, according to public report, had been a coachman in Manila. He succeeded in getting the English to appoint him alcalde-mayor for life of that jurisdiction, and he accomplished many atrocities and acts of sacrilege. They seized the alcalde-mayor and his family; took possession of the arms and effects belonging to his Majesty; and the recognition of paying him tribute and of assisting with the polos and personal services; obliged the reverend bishop, Don Fray Bernardo Ustariz, to retire and take to flight, because he tried to reduce them to reason; committed many thefts and extortions in the estates; and burned many houses, proceeding with inhuman cruelty. An expedition was made against them, in which they were almost defeated, but since the loyal people of Ylocos were cowardly, and as they were not accustomed to fight, the tyrant was allowed to reform his forces and to continue with greater violence to further his prowess and to increase his troops.

Having been informed of such fatal occurrences, and treating for the common relief, he gave commission to said bishop and to the vicar-provincial of that

province to pacify it. He communicated to them all his own powers, and wrote various letters to the villages which remained loyal, exhorting them to continue so. But not having been able to obtain any results by this method, he drew up a cause, and gave it in review to the fiscal. The latter petitioned that the most severe punishments be meted out to Diego Silang and the insurgents. As a result he ordered that a peremptory order of imprisonment and an edict of citation be issued, entrusting the measure of its publication to Fray Francisco Antonio Maldonado, an Augustinian religious, and promising a reward to whomever would communicate it to Diego Silang, and a greater one if he should obtain his reply. Don Diego Aldais, a Spanish mestizo, moved by his good zeal, determined to do this. He passing through the village of Santa Lucia, was seized by the partisans of the traitor and his letters intercepted. They deprived the religious ministers of the right to communicate [with one another], and imprisoned their diocesan prelate. By various letters which he received, he discovered the alliance which the Ilocans had made with the Pangasinans,[183] Sangleys, and the English enemy, to whom the province had been delivered, the go-between in so execrable an outrage being Don Santiago Orendain, as was proved also by a rough draft of another letter which he made and sent to Diego Silang, which was intercepted in his state by Don Manuel Alvarez and presented to him [*i.e.*, to Anda].

Informed that the Ilocan Indians were committing

[183] Upon the outbreak of the first insurrection in Pangasinan, Anda wrote to the religious for aid in quelling it; and in order to quiet the insurgents, promised them full pardon (Mas, i, pp. 148, 149).

disorders in this state, some following steadfastly the party of his Majesty, and others that of Diego Silang,[184] he determined with the advice of experienced persons, to appoint a chief justice and a master-of-camp as generalisimo, a sargento-mayor of the Catholic villages, and another master-of-camp and a sargento-mayor in the name of the Monteses infidels. He despatched them their titles in the name of his Majesty, granting them the fitting powers for the pacification. That provision resulted in happy successes, the most happy being that Don Miguel Vicos killed Diego Silang, at the very time that said tyrant had resolved to kill the reverend bishop and other religious ministers whom he had seized. Therefore, that province began to settle down until it became quiet and restored to the obedience of his Majesty, said prelate having promised (and Don Simon confirmed it in his Majesty's name) a general pardon to the natives of that province and exemption from tribute during the whole time of the war on the necessary condition that they furnish their ministers of the doctrine with the necessary stipends for their support. He declared as faithful and noble the villages of Santa Catalina, Vigan, Bantay, and San Vicente, as they were the ones which chiefly took part in the enterprise, and opposed the mutiny; and he gave them the arms which were taken from the leader of the sedition.

He also gives information of another insurrection which was stirred up in the province of Pangasinan, and which originated in the village of Binalatongan,

[184] A communication from Drake to Silán, May 9, grants him the titles of governor, alcalde, and sargento-mayor, of Ilocos. Montero y Vidal, ii, p. 100.

which was under the spiritual charge of the religious of St. Dominic. Those natives, also instigated by the English, taking as their leader Juan de la Cruz Palaris, an unworthy man, who had also been a coachman in Manila in the employ of Auditor Don Francisco Enrriquez de Villacorta, revolted, under the pretext of various unjust, extravagant, and malicious demands: such as that the sum of money which they had paid on the account of their tributes was to be restored, since they could not have any trade with Manila, as the English were in power there, and if the latter were to make them pay tribute, they would be paying a double tribute; that four men, whom they gave as a guard of the prisoners of the prison were to be relieved from the polos; that the dignity of cacique was to be taken from two heads of barangay; that the boys' schoolmaster was to be changed as he was a flatterer; that the badge of general master-of-camp of that province was not to be given outside the village of Binalatongan; that the alcalde, the father ministers, and their convents were to be removed if they did not aid them in the attainment of their attempt, and they would build new churches and would establish new fathers. Finally they petitioned that no one who did not originate from his village should hold the staff of office in the tribunal.

This insurrection, after various incidents in which it was necessary to give the fitting authorizations to various religious, and appoint Don Juan Antonio Panelo, a person of great merit and conduct as his lieutenant, in order that they might pacify and reduce that province, and that some Spaniards might accompany the latter, giving them the necessary instructions; yet they could do nothing, since, fearful

of the death which the insurgents wished to inflict on them, they fled the province. Consequently, he gave commission to other religious; prepared soldiers so that they might go to reduce the province, under command of Don Fernando Arayat. The latter's troop departed on the expedition, and the Pampangos advancing on their march, took position in front of the enemy. Having sent an embassy to them, so that they might submit, they answered that they did not wish it, since, if his Majesty had muskets, they had cannons and muskets. Notwithstanding that they had them, the commandant, having summoned them in writing, and inviting them to make peace, and seeing the contempt that they showed of his proposition, was compelled to make war upon them, attacking them in the trenches which they had made with thirty-four muskets and five hundred natives, counting Pampangos and Cagayans, after summoning them to peace five times. They replied to his summons from the trench that they had flung their banner to the breeze, with a shot from a cannon of the caliber of four, and two shots from falconets. Thereupon, Don Pedro Hernani, lieutenant of Spanish infantry, with one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty soldiers, began to cross the river in pursuit of the Cagayans, leaving Alférez Don Jose Solorzano as a reserve. Don Pedro Hernani invested the trenches with so great courage, that he succeeded in taking the banner from them, although he suffered the misfortune of being run through the breast with a lance and fell dead. But Don Pedro Fagle substituted him, and picked up the flag, which he delivered to his commandant. The latter afterward presented it to Don Simon de Anda. It was two

varas long and a trifle more narrow. At each corner it had a two-headed eagle, and in the center an escutcheon with its border, and within it the arms of the Order of St. Dominic. They also wounded a Spanish soldier with a poisoned arrow from which he died raving. Since the number of the enemy was vast, their position advantageous, and the river which they had in front, not being able [to be crossed] as it had swollen, obliged them to retire. But desiring to avoid all confusion of blood, and manifesting to them the love of his Majesty for his vassals, he [*i.e.*, the Spanish commander] forbore to attack them again, reiterating that he would act mildly, entrusting the matter to another Dominican religious and the practical business to the master-of-camp Manalartay.

Finally, the bishop of Nueva Segovia, Don Fray Bernardo Ustariz, having taken upon himself the obligation of pacifying them, set about various measures and succeeded in reducing them. A few days afterward they sent a deputation to Don Simon, asking mercy, bearing recommendations from the abovesaid bishop, and manifesting their repentance. They recognized his Majesty as their only sovereign and asked for an alcalde-mayor to govern them. He condescended to this, pardoning them with warning that he would proceed against them in case they repeated their error. Juan Palaris and Domingo Magalog, his brother, were included in the pardon. He ordered Don Joaquin Gamboa to be restored to his office as alcalde-mayor, but the latter resigned. Consequently, the office of alcalde-mayor was given to Don Jose Acevedo. Various measures were taken so that the families who had retired to Pampanga

and fled the insurrection, might be restored to Pangasinan.

He also recommends the religious orders for the good services which they have rendered, especially that of the calced Augustinians, who have suffered total ruin, as have those who have most shown their love and fidelity during the invasion of the English.

He also manifests the distrust which he recognized in some religious of St. John of God, as they had opposed a government measure conducive to the royal service. But since this was a prohibition to taking from an estate, which they had, food for their hospital of Manila, it is to be noted that this is a complaint or accusation more befitting an indiscreet zeal, namely, of the charity with which the religious must have worked, in order that their sick might not perish, without one being able for this reason to attribute it to disloyalty.

Lastly, he gives account of the measures which he took in order to continue the aid which had been established on his Majesty's account in honor of Fernando I, king of Joló. He states that, at the beginning of the expedition, the king showed himself loyal to his Majesty, and recognized Don Simon as Audiencia, and governor, asking him to assign him to those provinces or to send him to his country, whence he would send him the aid, which he asked of him. Having advised him that he would transfer him to Pampanga, he promptly arranged his voyage, and having arrived at the village of Pasig, he was overtaken by an accident which impeded him for six days. During that interim, the enemy made him a prisoner. The English, taking advantage of the occasion, sent him to Joló. Afterward when the Eng-

lish evacuated Manila, they took the prince Ysrael and all those of his kingdom. It was presumed that the English had made some agreement with him, so that they might establish themselves in Joló. That would be to the great prejudice of the Visayan provinces and their trade both because of the English and the Moros.

In a separate measure, both Don Simon de Anda, in his representations, and the royal lieutenant, Don Francisco de la Torre, governor *ad interim* of Filipinas, discuss the receipt of a royal decree, despatched July 18, 1762, by which a fine of two thousand pesos was declared against the auditor Don Francisco de Villacorta, and the fiscal, Don Francisco Leandro de Viana, because of the irregularity of the process which they prosecuted against Doctor Don Santiago Orendain, which they have not made manifest because of having produced various exceptions which appear from the records which he remits. In regard to this affair, he has not wished to make any innovation until his Majesty decide as to the matter what he considers just. He encloses a report of the royal officials in favor of the conduct of the above-mentioned fiscal Viana.

He also reports with records, the summary investigation of the crime of disloyalty, which was incurred by Doctor Don Santiago Orendain as being partial to and director of the British government. Don Simon delivered that matter to his successor, so that he might continue it. This man and his family went with the English when they evacuated the fort of Manila, to the city of Madras.

The royal lieutenant also discusses, when advising of the receipt of a royal decree, dated July 23, 762,

the question of not forbidding Sangley converts from going to the house of the catechumens, and gives information of the league which the Christian Sangleys made with the English, and the atrocities which they committed. He publicly ordered their rites, and concluded with petitioning the total expulsion of the Sangleys who have kept the title of Christian, as was done with the infidels; in which Don Simon and the ecclesiastical estate also coöperate with convincing and practical reasons.

From all the above, it results from this extract that measures could have been taken in regard to only the two matters: one in regard to the absolute expulsion of the Christian Sangleys from those islands; and the other ordering that a rule be given as to what ought to be done in the future in a like case, when one single minister remains as governor as happened to Don Simon, and restitution [of the government] having been made, if the governor has acted with ignominy, whether the staff of office is or is not to be given to him by the minister who has held the command. These two measures look toward the future; for what was done by Don Simon is approved by his Majesty and whatever said Don Simon has done ought to be approved – the posts which he has given, the expenses which he has incurred, and which he has made on the account of the royal treasury. In a word he has become worthy, not only of the reward which he has now obtained from the royal magnificence, but also of eternal memory.

DRAPER'S DEFENSE

A PLAIN NARRATIVE[185]

The Conquest of Manila, Cavita, and the whole Phillipine Islands, having been of late the Topic of Conversation, from the Crown of Spain's Refusal to pay the Bills drawn by its Archbishop and Captain-General, in Consequence of the Capitulation;[186] and

[185] The title-page of this pamphlet (which is without date of publication, or author) reads as follows: "A plain narrative of the reduction of Manila and the Philippine Islands." This is listed in the bibliography issued by the Library of Congress, *Books of the Philippine Islands* (p. 124), under the joint authorship of Sir Samuel Cornish and Sir William Draper, because the signatures of both are appended to the several "Conditions" and "Proposals" inserted at the end (which we publish elsewhere). It is probable, however, that the latter alone is the author of the *Plain narrative*, as is evident if it be read in conjunction with the following pamphlet, *Colonel Draper's answer*, which is signed by the latter. From the internal evidence furnished also by the latter pamphlet, we are inclined to believe that the *Plain narrative* was published at London in 1764, and prior to *Colonel Draper's answer*.

[186] The following items from various British magazines contemporary with the siege show the considerable place taken in English politics by the question of the ransom:

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1764 (vol. xxxiv, p. 544) says, under date of November 15: "A categorical answer came over from the courts of *France* and *Spain*, relative to the payment of the subsistance money due for the prisoners of the former, and the ransom of the *Manillas*, both which, according to this report, have been absolutely refused by the said powers."

The *London Chronicle* for February 28 – March 2, 1765

having Reason to apprehend, that the Public are as ignorant of the Nature and Importance of that Acquisition, as they seem to be unacquainted with the Particulars relative to the Capitulation, and its Consequences; I think it a Duty incumbent on me to set the material Transactions of that Expedition in a

(vol. xvii, no. 1279) says: "We hear the Spaniards want to deduct 1,230,000 piasters, or pieces of eight, out of the ransom of the Manillas, for the damages and losses the inhabitants sustained on the 6th of October 1762, when it was taken by storm by the English forces."

"*London, Jan.* 25. By letters from Madrid we are assured that Lord Rochfort had, in consequence of orders from England, demanded the final sentiments of the Catholic ministry, respecting the payment of the Manilla ransom, in order to be transmitted home for the inspection of the grand council of the nation; and it was current there, that this long protracted affair would soon be amicably adjusted." (*Scots Magazine*, 1766, p. 48.)

"*London, May* 20. They write from Madrid, that some dispatches, just received from Manilla, in the East Indies, which the court had impatiently expected, would possibly hasten the final payment of the ransom-bills; and that Lord Rochfort appeared to be on very good terms with the Catholic ministry." (*Ut supra*, p. 270.)

"*London, Aug.* 29. According to letters from Madrid, one reason alledged for the non-payment of the Manilla ransom is the delay of the expected flotas from New Spain, which has rendered the treasury very bare of money." (*Ut supra*, p. 441.)

"*Paragraph of a letter from Madrid.* Our politicians are at a loss to know what will be the result of the demand made by the English ambassador, for the payment of the Manilla ransom. If the English court are really in earnest, it is generally thought by those who pretend to be conversant in court-affairs, that the Spanish court would rather pay it, than venture another war with G. Britain. All I can say in the matter is, that it should be immediately insisted on, as, in all probability, this court will prevent the further progress of trade between Manilla and the South seas, as they seem to think the whole riches of the mines will be centered in China, with which this court has no trade. This seems probable enough since the expulsion of the Jesuits, as it was through their interests that trade has so long subsisted; and what confirms it the more is, that the court will not pay for the additional fortifications of that place (Manilla) since it has been given up by the English. But if one may add his thoughts,

proper Point of View, as well as in Justice to my own Conduct and Character, as to the Officers and Men serving under me: and for the particular Information of the Representatives of the Nation, who have condescended to think our Services deserving their public Approbation of our Conduct, in the particular Honour of their Thanks conveyed to us by their Speaker.

Manila is the Metropolis of the Phillipine Islands, situated in a large Bay on the Island of Luconia, in the Latitude 14, 40 North, Longitude 118 East, from London, in Possession of the Spaniards, and maintained by the Crown of Spain, at the Request of the Church for propagating the Christian Faith among the Indians, for which they have a large annual Allowance from Mexico, for the Maintenance of their public Officers and Clergy, and for the support of their Convents: They are also indulged with Ships, built and navigated at the King's Expence, to bring the said Allowance in Money: These Ships go laden with Merchandize belonging to the Inhabitants (a still further Indulgence allowed them) from Manila to Acapulca, and return with Money: The King's is registered; and the Remainder (about as much more) a smuggling Trade, and connived at.

This trade is so very prejudicial to Old Spain, the Cargoes they send being China Silks, India Cottons, Spices, &c., for the Use of the People in America, that the Cadiz and Bayone Companies have fre-

I believe two or three ships, properly authorised, to back the above demand, would be more powerful intercessors." (*Ut supra*, 1767, p. 549.)

"*London, Nov.* 19. A letter from Madrid has this passage: 'Sir James Gray, the British Minister, has already entered upon his negotiation, of which the Manilla affair and the West-India commerce are the first objects.'" (*Ut supra*, p. 605.)

quently presented the strongest Memorials and Remonstrances to the King, setting forth the Damage sustained by it, but without any Success, the Church always getting the better of them.

In Consequence of Orders from Europe to attack Manila on the War with Spain, the Squadron and Troops sailed from Madrass the First of August, 1762, and arrived in the Bay of Manila the 24th of September following; and after summoning the Town to surrender, and receiving for Answer their Resolution to defend it, the Troops were immediately landed, and began the Siege. A breach being made the 6th of October, we stormed and took the City, on which the principal Inhabitants retired into the Citadel, but sensible they could not hold it long, sent out a Flag of Truce, desiring to capitulate. The Terms offered were, on paying "Four Millions of Dollars, they were to have their Churches, Convents, Palaces, and other public Buildings, with the Town preserved, the Plundering stopped, with the free exercise of their Religion, and other Liberties; otherwise to be Prisoners of War, and put on Board the Squadron, and sent to the Coast of India as such."

These Terms they accepted; and whilst the Articles were settling, they pleaded their Inability to raise immediately the Sum demanded, unless we would admit the Phillipina (which was arrived in the Port of Pallapa, on the Island of Semar from Acapulca) into the Capitulation, and the Vice Roy to send Letters to the General that commanded her, to deliver her up to our Ships, which had been sent after her; to which we assented, on Condition that the said Phillipina was actually in the Port of Pal-

lapa, and delivered up to our Ships in Consequence of the said Letter. *This is the only Ship ever admitted into the Capitulation (and that Conditionally) and which, instead of being delivered up, or ordered to proceed to Manila, agreeable to the promised Letter of the Vice Roy, was, by other Letters, privately sent unknown to us, directed not to comply with the Vice Roy's Letter, but to land the Money on the Island where they were, and secure it in the best Manner they could until they should receive further Directions from Manila.*[187]

All things being thus agreed upon, the plundering the Town was immediately Stopped[188] and the City restored to Order, an Account taken of the Ordnance and military Stores, and the Garrison established, which took up the whole of the Troops of the Expedition; and the Place (in Obedience to his Majesty's Instructions) delivered up to the East India Company's Agent for their Use and Benefit, until his further Pleasure should be known. During these Transactions the Treasure remaining in the Town (a great deal being conveyed out during the Siege) was collected together, and the principal Inhabitants voluntarily taxed themselves to pay the Remainder as far as two Millions; and if the Phillipina was not to be got at, we were to take Bills on the King of Spain for the other two Millions, which the Captain General, or Viceroy, (who was also Archbishop)

[187] If this Ship was not admitted in the Capitulation by any Accident of Non Compliance with the Terms of the Vice Roy's Letter in that Case, we agreed to take his Bills on the King of Spain, he assuring us they would be duly paid. (Note by Draper.)

[188] The damage sustained by the Inhabitants before the plundering could be stopped, was estimated and deducted from the Ransom. (Note by Draper.)

declared he had Authority to draw, and would be duly honoured.

As soon as the Place was in Possession of the East India Company, the Spaniards perceived the King's Officers had no further Power over them, and therefore stopped any further Collections toward the Payment; and from the Excess of Lenity hitherto shown them, soon grew insolent, broke every Part of the Capitulation by retiring into the Country and joining Anda, one of the Royal Audience, who had taken up Arms, and proclaimed himself Captain General, while their Priests and Friars publicly exhorted Rebellion, and preached it meritorious to take up Arms and destroy us.

As several of the principal Men of the Place were likewise concerned with him, the Captors were justly apprehensive that little or nothing more was to be got by fair Means, and were willing to secure what was still in their Power; and therefore ordered their Agents to bring into the City what Merchandize was belonging to the said Men in the Suburbs, as a Security till they made good their Ransom. But were greatly surprized to find the East India Company's Governor had placed Guards, and would not suffer the Agents to remove any one Thing, by which the Captors lost upwards of 200,000 Dollars. The Captors therefore to secure what little yet remained in their Power, gave Directions to seize, and dispose of a Ship, named the Santo Nino,[189] that lay in the Port

[189] A Spanish Galleon sailing from the Havannah a Month before the Arrival of Sir George Pocock and Lord Albemarle to attack that Place, and taken in her Passage to Cadiz by two English Cruizers off the Canary or Western Islands, might with the same Degree of Equity be claimed by the Spaniards under their Capitulation for the Havannah. (Note by Draper.)

of Cavita at the Time of the Town being taken, and placed her Produce to the Account of the four Million (altho' she was not mentioned or included in the Capitulation). *This was the only Ship taken in the Port, and sold for only 16,000 Dollars, and which the Spaniards have since artfully and jesuitically endeavored to propagate to be the Santissima Trinidad; 'tis therefore in this Place necessary to make known, that the Santissima Trinidad sailed from Manila on the 1st of August, which was upwards of seven Weeks before the Squadron arrived there, and had proceeded several hundred Leagues on her Voyage to Acapulca; when meeting with a Storm she was dismasted, and endeavouring to put back to refit was met with off the Island of Capul by two of our Ships, the Panther and Argo (the two Ships that were detached after the Phillipina) and after an Engagement taken by them, above two hundred Miles from the Port of Manila, and which Ships knew nothing at that Time of the Surrender or Capitulation of Manila.* These two Ships that were sent after the Phillipina (in Consequence of Intelligence obtained by a Gally we took in the Bay soon after our Arrival) had got as far as the Island of Capul, in their Way to Palapa, when they met with the Trinidad, and she being much disabled, and having a great Number of Men on Board, they were obliged to return to the Bay of Manila with her; on which, as soon as possible, two Frigates were dispatched again after the Phillipina, but before they could reach the Streights of St. Bernardino, the North-East Monsoon was set in, and the Weather too stormy to pass the Streights, and after ten Weeks fruitlessly attempting it, were obliged to return.

The Squadron being obliged (by Instructions on that Head) to return to the Coast of India for the Protection of the East India Company's Settlements, before the North-East Monsoon was expired, sailed from the Bay of Manila the beginning of March, leaving orders with the Commanding Officer of the Ships left for the Protection of the Place, so soon as the South-West Monsoon prevailed, to proceed to Palapa, in order to take Possession of the Phillipina, who, on his Arrival, found only the Ship, the Treasure having been carried in small Vessels to the Island of Luconia by Orders from the Inhabitants of Manila, who had all this Time amused us with the Promise of the Money of this Ship for Payment, and even sent Men as Hostages[190] in our Ships to get it, notwithstanding they themselves well knew it was removed from that Place. Through the whole of the above Transactions, the Spaniards by Evasions avoided complying with the Capitulation in every one Respect, except in the bringing in the Money from the Misericordia and Ordentercara, which was out of their Power to secrete. They basely and ungratefully took up Arms against us, after having their Lives given them. They preached publicly in their Churches Rebellion, and meritorious to destroy us.

And these people have still furthermore the Impudence to charge us with an Infringment of the Capitulation, and the Effrontery to claim the Santissima Trinidad, which was taken above 200 Miles from Manila by two of his Majesty's Ships, who knew nothing of the Surrender of the Place, nor was in any Shape mentioned or included in the Capitula-

[190] See *ante*, pp. 71, 72, note 28.

tion, having sailed on her Voyage seven Weeks previous to our Arrival, as may be seen by the Capitulation annexed hereto.

It is true they have given Bills on the King their Master for Part of the Ransom, which he does not acknowledge they had a Right to draw, and therefore refuses Payment of. But surely I may with Equity be permitted to add, that as he allows them a very large Sum annually for their Support, and has again put the Place into their Possession, is he not bound in Honour and strict Justice to oblige his Subjects to make good their solemn Covenant and Capitulation, having the Means so fully in his Power?

The Account of Ransom stands correctly thus:

	dollars r. d.	*dollars r. d.*
Ransom agreeable to Capitulation		4,000,000 0 0
Received from the public Funds and Collections	515,802 3 10	
Plunder taken from the Seamen and Soldiers	26,623 0 0	542,425 3 10
Remains due to the Captors		3,457 574 4 2

One third of which is the Proportion belonging to the East India Company.

The King's Instructions were, if we succeeded in the Conquest of Manila, to deliver up the Fortifications, with the Cannon, Stores and Ammunition, to

the East India Company, until his Majesty's Pleasure should be signified with Regard to the future Dispositions of the said Conquests, &c.

Upon the Peace, when the Place was delivered up to the Spaniards, the East India Company applied to the Secretary of State for Leave to carry the Artillery and Stores to Madrass, but received for Answer, That they must remain for the Defence of the Place; but were afterward told, That if the Spaniards would give Security for the Payment of the Value of them, they were to be left; if they would not, the East India Company might remove them to Madrass. This last Answer did not arrive in India till after Orders had been sent to deliver it up, and the Season too late to send that Year.[191]

[Here follow the "Conditions" and "Proposals," *q.v., ante*, pp. 75-80.]

[At the end of the copy of this book from which we publish is written by hand: "with Admiral Cornish's Compliments."]

COLONEL DRAPER'S ANSWER TO THE SPANISH ARGUMENTS

To the Earl of Halifax, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State For the Southern Department.[192]

My Lord,

Armed with that Boldness which Innocence inspires, and the Consciousness of having done my

[191] This is reprinted in vol. ii of *The Field of Mars* (London, 1781). See *Bibliography of Philippines* (Washington, 1903), p. 124.

[192] The full title of this book is as follows: "Colonel Draper's

Duty, both as an Officer, and a Man of Honour and Humanity; I presume again to lay before your Lordship my Answer to the *Spanish* Ambassador's Memorial.

This Reply is something more copious than the former, which I had the Honour of presenting to

answer to the Spanish arguments, claiming the galeon, and refusing payment of the ransom bills, for preserving *Manila* from Pillage and destruction: in a letter addressed to the earl of *Halifax*, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the southern department. London: printed for J. Dodsley, in *Pall-mall*. MDCCLXIV."

Scots Magazine for 1764, pp. 455, 456, comments as follows on the money received by the English from the conquest of Manila:

Three distributions have been made of the money hitherto received on account of the capture of Manila. The first consisted of 526,306 Spanish dollars collected in specie, jewels, gold and silver plate, and merchandise, received in part of the four millions of dollars to be paid agreeable to the capitulation, including the plunder taken from the seamen and soldiers after the conquest, amounting to 496,000 dollars. The second arose from the balance of the first account, and the amount of sundry naval, victualling and ordnance stores, confiscated and secreted effects, amounting to 92,561 dollars and a fraction. The third arose from the sale of vessels, merchandise, naval and victualling stores, and confiscated effects, sold at Manila and Fort St. George, amounting to 43,280 pagodas and a fraction. Of each of these the East-India company received one third. Distribution has also been made of the effects saved out of the Spanish galley attacked and destroyed by three of the boats of the squadron in the bay of Manila, amounting to 13,319 dollars and a fraction. The total distribution to each class, being cast into Sterling money, comes out thus:

Between the Admiral, General, and Commodore, $^1/_8$th	£.14120	12	9
To the Captains of the navy, and Field-officers of the army, $^2/_8$th, each . .	1539	0	8½
To the Lieutenants and Masters of the navy, and Captains of the army, $^1/_8$th, each	165	4	8
To the warrant-officers of the navy, and subalterns of the army, $^1/_8$th, each .	80	0	5½
To the petty officers of the navy, and non-comm. officers of the army, $^1/_8$th, each	30	0	1
To the seamen and soldiers, $^2/_8$ths, each	6	0	3

your Lordship in *March* last: The new Arguments that have been urged to evade Payment, requiring fresh Reasons to endeavour to enforce it.

I was in great Hopes, that the good Faith, Honour, and Punctuality of the *Spanish* Nation, would have made this Publication unnecessary. But finding, that they have absolutely refused Payment of the Ransom Bills, drawn upon their Treasury by the Governor of *Manila*, and do now claim the Restitution of the Galeon, I am constrained, for the Sake of those brave Men, to whom I am obliged and indebted for my Success, to assert their Rights, in the best Manner I am able.

Many of them, my Lord, from the too usual and sanguine Hopes of their Profession, have already anticipated their supposed Profits, and may live to repent their fatal Success in a Jail; unless the powerful Intercession of the Government will rescue them from impending Misery or Destruction. They vainly look up to me for that Protection, which in their Names, I again request from your Lordship's good Offices.

I must add, that the calumnious and envenomed Attack upon my own Character, demands the most public Justification: Being described both at Home and Abroad, as a Man void of all Faith, Principle, or common Honesty; and so, indeed, I should be most deservedly thought, were I guilty even of the smallest Part of what the *Spanish* Memorial accuses me. A Dey of *Tunis*, or *Algiers*, would blush to make use of so black an Instrument of Perfidy and Piracy. I owe, therefore, this open Vindication of my Conduct, both to my Sovereign, and to my Country, whose Representatives were pleased to honour

me with their public Thanks, the greatest of all Rewards, and indeed, the only one I have received for my late Services.– *Sed mihi facti fama sat est.*[193]

My Silence, perhaps, may be misconstrued; it may be suspected that I have sacrificed the deluded Partners of my Expedition, to private and base Considerations; (for something of a dark and private Treaty has been whispered about) but, I thank Heaven! my Behaviour has been such as will bear the Light of Day; and the all-searching Eye of Truth.

The *Spaniards* have assigned my Breach of Faith in the Capitulation, as one Reason for their Refusal of Payment: I cannot, therefore, servilely stoop, or submit to the heavy Load of Guilt, with which they have endeavoured to overwhelm me. But perhaps, a Second *Gondemar*[194] is arrived amongst us: Yet the Happiness of the Times, we have the good Fortune to live in, forbids me to carry the Allusion any farther; nor have I the Vanity to compare myself to the great *Raleigh*, even in Miniature; a very unjust and vindictive Accusation, forms the only Part of the Parallel betwixt us. But as the execrable Days of *James* the First can never be renewed under the Reign of our most just, good, and gracious Sovereign, I will not harbour the least Suspicion that I shall resemble that illustrious Man in his Misfortune; or remain unprotected, or be sacrificed for my poor Endeavours to serve my King and Country; to whose Judgments I most dutifully and humbly submit my Cause.

[193] *i.e.*, The renown of the deed is enough for me.

[194] A famous *Spanish* Ambassador, in the Reign of *James* the First. (*Colonel Draper's Answer*, p. 9, note.)

I have the Honour to be, my Lord, With great Respect and Esteem, Your most obedient, humble Servant,

WILLIAM DRAPER

The Spanish Arguments for refusing Payment[195]

The *English* Generals who made themselves Masters of *Manila* proposed, on the[196] Fifth of *October*, 1762, a Capitulation to the Archbishop, who acted as Governor; by which they promised to preserve the City from Pillage, if the Governor and principal Magistrates would consent to, and sign the Articles of, the said Capitulation; which they were forced to do, being threatened to be put to the Sword, in Case of Refusal.

Notwithstanding this shameful Capitulation, extorted and signed by the Means of Violence and Rigor, General *Draper* ordered or suffered the City to be sacked and pillaged, for forty Hours, by Four Thousand *English,* who plundered it of more than a Million of Dollars.[197]

[195] These arguments are presented by Draper in French and English parallel texts, the latter evidently being translated from the former.

[196] The *Spaniards*, by sailing to *Manila*, by the West, are a Day later in their Computation of Time in that Country. (*Colonel Draper's Answer*, p. 13, note.)

[197] The Marquis de Ayerbe says that the British soldiery left nothing of value in the private houses, and rendered useless what they did not care to carry away. They committed numberless atrocities. At the convent of St. Dominic, they cut off the head of the Virgin of the rosary. They sacked and profaned the churches. The archives of the Audiencia, secretaryship, offices of the treasury, and many private papers, were burned. They were aided by the servants of the Spaniards and the natives who had come to defend the capital. On the petition of the archbishop, guards were placed

Therefore the said Capitulation ought to be void, because it was signed by force; and because General *Draper* first violated and broke the Capitulation, by permitting the City to be pillaged. Consequently, that Capitulation only, which was proposed by the Governor, accepted of, and signed by Admiral *Cornish* and General *Draper*, upon the seventh of *October*, ought to be considered and respected in this Affair.

The First Article of which grants to the Inhabitants of *Manila*, the peaceable and quiet Possession of all their Effects; the Fourth and Sixth grant them the Liberty of Commerce, under the Protection of his *Britannic* Majesty.

Refutation

It is a known and universal Rule of War amongst the most civilized Nations, that Places taken by Storm, without any Capitulation, are subject to all the Miseries that the Conquerors may chuse to inflict.

Manila, my Lord, was in this horrid Situation; of Consequence the Lives of the Inhabitants, with all belonging to them, were entirely at our Mercy. But Christianity, Humanity, the Dignity of our Nation, and our own Feelings as Men, induced us not to ex-

by Draper in the convent of the nuns of Santa Clara and in the beaterios. That being done, Draper ordered the sack for three hours, a period which was prolonged to more than forty. The drunken soldiers violated the defenseless women, looted, destroyed, and profaned the churches, being aided in this by the Chinese and criminals who had been given their liberty. At the end of twenty-four hours, the archbishop protested, but notwithstanding the orders of Draper, the sack continued. The most inhuman deeds are said to have been committed by the natives. See *Sitio y conquista*, pp. 67, 68; and Montero y Vidal, pp. 31, 32, and note.

ert the utmost Rigours of the Profession, against those wretched Suppliants; although my own Secretary, Lieutenant *Fryar*, had been murdered, as he was carrying a Flag of Truce to the Town. The Admiral and I told the Archbishop and principal Magistrates, that we were desirous to save so fine a City from Destruction, ordered them to withdraw, consult, and propose such Terms of Compensation as might satisfy the Fleet and Army, and exempt them from Pillage, and its fatal Consequences.

The Proposals they gave in, were the very same, which the *Spaniards* most artfully call a Second Capitulation; and were afterwards agreed to, and confirmed by us (with a few Restrictions) but at that time were so unsuitable to their desperate Situation, that we rejected them as unsatisfactory and inadmissible. As Conquerors, we took the Pen, and dictated those Terms of the Ransom which the *Spaniards* thought proper to submit to; for they had the Alternative, either to be passive under the Horrors of a Pillage, or compound for their Preservation; they accepted the latter.

The Objection and Pretence of Force and Violence may be made use of to evade any military Agreements whatsoever, where the two Parties do not treat upon an Equality; for who, in War, will submit to an inconvenient and prejudicial Compact, unless from Force? But have the *Spaniards* forgot their own Histories? Or will they not remember the just Indignation expressed against *Francis* the First, who pleaded the like Subterfuge of Force and Violence, to evade the Treaty made after the Battle of *Pavia*, and his Captivity?

Should such elusive Doctrines prevail, it will be

impossible, hereafter, for the Vanquished to obtain any Quarter or Terms whatsoever: The War will be carried on *usque ad internecionem*;[198] and if a Sovereign shall refuse to confirm the Conditions stipulated by his Subjects, who are in such critical Situations, the Consequences are too horrid to mention.

By the same fallacious Sophistry, a State may object to the Payment of the Ransoms of Ships taken at Sea, and to Contributions levied in a Country which is the Seat of War. But it is always allowed, that in such Cases, a Part must be sacrificed to save the Whole; and surely, when by the Laws of War, we were entitled to the Whole, it was a great Degree of Moderation to be contented with a Part.

The Destruction that we could have occasioned, would have trebled the Loss they suffer by the Payment of the Ransom. The rich Churches and Convents, the King of *Spain*'s own Palace, with its superb and costly Furniture, the magnificent Buildings of every Sort, the Fortifications, Docks, Magazines, Founderies, Cannon, and in short the Whole might have been entirely ruined, the *Spanish* Empire in *Asia* subverted, and the Fruits of their religious Mission lost for ever,[199] together with the Lives of many

[198] *i.e.*, "Even to the death."

[199] Before the sack began, Draper ordered all the Indians to leave Manila. He also ordered whatever had been taken from the churches to be restored, but nothing was found except some vestments taken by the Sepoys, who appeared on the walls dressed in the same. Especially were the sacred places treated with deep respect. The religious were allowed to return to their convents, in an endeavor to gain their powerful influence. Especially did he try to win over the Augustinian ex-provincial Remijio Hernandez, then in charge of the province, writing him several letters. But he was unable to obtain his desire, for Hernandez remained firm in his loyalty. See Mas, i, pp. 134, 135, 137.

Thousand Inhabitants, who were spared by our Humanity. As a suitable and grateful Return for this Lenity, the *Spanish* Memorial affirms, that after the Capitulation was signed, General *Draper* ordered or permitted, the City to be sacked and pillaged forty Hours together, by Four Thousand *English*, who plundered it of more than a Million of Dollars.

As my own Character, both as an Officer, and a Man of Honour, is so wickedly attacked by this unjust Accusation, I must beg Leave to state the whole Affair, in its true Light; and do appeal for its Veracity to the Testimonies of every Officer and Soldier, who served in the Expedition, and to all of the Marine Department.

We entered *Manila* by Storm, on the 6th of *October* 1762, with an Handful of Troops, whose Total amounted to little more than Two Thousand; a motley Composition of Seamen, Soldiers, Seapoys, Cafres, Lascars, Topasees, *French* and *German* Deserters.[200]

[200] A letter written to the *London Chronicle*, and published in that paper, for the issue of December 27-29, 1764, no. 252, p. 618, attests the humanity of General Draper. The writer, an eyewitness of the storming of Manila, asserts that Draper took very careful precautions to avoid the excesses that are liable to occur at such a time, with the miscellaneous troops under his command. As soon as the capitulation was in force, the chief men of Manila were allowed to retire into the country to escape possible contagion from the carnage. The writer denies any personal motive for the declaration, as he was really at Manila against his will, and has no connection with army or navy. "The following is nearly an exact list of the troops, that were employed on that expedition: 500 regulars, Mr. Draper's own regiment; 250 Marines; 500 seamen; 600 Seapoys (black troops); 250 French, who, to be free of a prison, had entered into the Company's service – a total of 2,100. The increasing these to 4000, and representing them as let loose to every degree of rapine, after the capitulation, are both equally unjust, and carry their conviction; nor can there be any greater evidence of Mr. Draper's humanity and presence

Many of the Houses had been abandoned by the frightened Inhabitants, and were burst open by the Violence of Shot, or Explosion of Shells. Some of these were entered and pillaged. But all military Men know, how difficult it is to restrain the Impetuosity of Troops in the first Fury of an Assault, especially when composed of such a Variety and Confusion of People, who differed as much in Sentiments and Language, as in Dress and Complexion.

Several Hours elapsed, before the principal Magistrates could be brought to a Conference; during that Interval, the Inhabitants were undoubtedly great Sufferers. But, my Lord, this Violence was antecedent to our Settling the Terms of the Capitulation, and by the Laws of War, the Place, with all it's Contents, became the unquestionable Property of the Captors, until a sufficient Equivalent was given in Lieu of it. That several Robberies were committed, after the Capitulation was signed, is not to be denied; for Avarice, Want, and Rapacity, are ever insatiable: But that the Place was pillaged for Forty Hours, and that Pillage authorized and permitted by me, is a most false and infamous Assertion. The People of *Manila*, my Lord, have imposed upon their Court, by a Representation of Facts, which never existed; and to make such a groundless Charge the Reason for setting aside, and evading a solemn Capitulation, is a Proceeding unheard of until now, and as void of Decency, as Common Sense.

The following Extracts from the Publick Orders, given out the very Day we entered the Town, will

of mind, than that with such a body of troops he should restrain their impetuosity at such a period." If the Spaniards fail in paying the ransom, they should surrender the city in the condition in which it was at the time of the surrender.

sufficiently convince your Lordship, of my constant Attention to the Preservation of those ungrateful People; who have almost taught me to believe, that Humanity and Compassion are Crimes.

Extracts

October 6th, *Manila.*

"The utmost Order and Regularity to be observed.

"All Persons guilty of Robberies, or Plundering the Churches and Houses, will be hanged without Mercy.

"The Guards to send frequent Patroles both Day and Night, to prevent all Disorders.

"The Drummers to beat to Arms, the Officers to assemble with their Men, and call the Rolls.

"The Adjutants to go around the Town, and take an exact Account of the Safe-guards, posted for the Protection of the Convents, Churches, and Houses.

October 7th.

"All the Inhabitants of *Manila* are to be looked upon and treated as His *Britannick* Majesty's Subjects: They having agreed to pay Four Millions of Dollars, for the Ransom and Preservation of their City and Effects.

"The Criminals executed for Robbery and Sacrilege, to be buried at Sunset."[201]

I hope the foregoing Extracts, are sufficient to vindicate my Character. Moreover, the strictest Search was made on board the Squadron by the Admiral's Orders, and amongst the Troops, to recover what had been stolen and secreted; and all the Money, Plate,

[201] Col. Draper's answer to this point is contained in *Scots Magazine* for 1764, pp. 722-724; and an extract is given in *London Chronicle*, 1764, p. 612.

and Jewels, so recovered, were put into the Treasury, and allowed, and accepted of as Part of the Ransom.

Now let us examine the Foundation of the *Spanish* Pretensions. In the first Place, they have misstated the Propositions, and made our Proposals antecedent to theirs, which is impossible. For how could our Fourth Proposition take Notice of, and consent to theirs, unless from a previous Knowledge and Perusal of what they had to offer? And indeed, the whole force of the *Spanish* Arguments, depends entirely upon the Second Capitulation, as they are pleased to term it: But the Liberty of Commerce, and all the other Privileges which they there insist upon, were granted conditionally, upon their Compliance with the Fourth Article of our Propositions. It expressly declares, that the Proposals contained in the Paper, delivered on the Part of his Excellency the Governor and his Council, will be listened to, and confirmed to them, upon their Payment of Four Millions of Dollars; the Half to be paid immediately, the other Half to be paid in a Time agreed upon; and Hostages[202] and Security given for that Purpose. It is therefore most evident, that they had not the least Shadow of Right to any Privileges, until this Article was most punctually fulfilled.

How it has been fulfilled, has been but too clearly manifested, by the Court of *Spain*'s Refusal to pay the Two Millions of Dollars, for which we trusted to the Honour and Punctuality of that Nation. Un-

[202] When Colonel *Draper* left *Manila*, all the *Oyidores* (the first Magistrates of the Place) were taken as Hostages: What has been done with them since that Time, he supposes Mr. *Drake*, the Deputy Governor, will inform the *East India* Company, and the Ministry. (*Colonel Draper's Answer*, p. 27, note.)

til that Sum is paid, it is impossible even to name the Galeon.

Postscript

It is now pretended that the *Spanish* Governor exceeded his Powers, that he had no Authority to draw Bills, of such a Nature, upon his Court: But will not unforseen Events, demand unforseen Expedients? In *Europe*, where the Distance will allow of it, it is undoubtedly the Duty of every Governor or Commander, to consult his Sovereign (if an Opportunity offers) before he presumes to give his Consent to, or ratify any Agreement that may be prejudicial or dishonourable to his Crown. But can such Formalities be required or observed at the Distance of half the Globe? The Persons entrusted with such remote Commands, must be left to their own Discretion; to the Fertility or Barrenness of their own Invention and Resources. A State may undoubtedly punish the Man who is found to have betrayed its Dignity or Interests; but at all Events, it must abide by his Decisions, how prejudicial soever.

We find in History, that the *Romans*, have sometimes delivered up to the Enemy such of their Generals, who had made a shameful or disadvantageous Peace, without the Consent or Approbation of the Senate: But that Practice has been universally condemned upon the truest Reasons; because the Delivery of an Individual could never be adequate to the Advantages they might acquire by the breaking of a bad Treaty; or compensate their Enemies for the Opportunities and Advantages they might give up, or lose, upon the Faith of such an Agreement.

I flatter myself that the *Spaniards* will not copy that great Nation in its Defects, but imitate its Virtues.

It is also asserted, that the Ransom Bills were given and accepted only to preserve the private Property of the Inhabitants: But I do most solemnly aver, my Lord, that the Ransom was general, as well as particular. Can Six Hundred Pieces of Brass and Iron Ordnance? can the Fortifications of the Citadel and Town of *Manila*, with those of the Citadel and Port of *Cavite*, the publick and royal Magazines, Store-houses, Docks, *&c.* be called private Property? They belonged, most undoubtedly, to his Catholic Majesty, and by the stern Rules of our Profession, might have been destroyed, had the Admiral and I been disposed to have carried on the War with that Barbarity, of which other Nations have more than once set us the Example: But we considered rather how *Englishmen* should act, than what our Enemies might have suffered. But let us, for a Moment, admit that the Bills were drawn for the sake of preserving private Property only: Even in that Case the *Spaniards* are bound in Honour to oblige the People of *Manila* to pay the Money; and they are now very able to discharge the Debt, since they have received all the Treasure of the *Philippina* Galeon.

Our Court has shewed them a most bright and laudable Example, by taking Care that all the Ransom Bills, due even to the Enemy's Privateers, should be most punctually paid, since the Conclusion of the Peace. Surely such upright Proceedings on our Side will infuse the same religious Observance of good Faith in all concerned in this Business. Otherwise we must say with Grotius, *ab Injustitiâ excusari nequeunt, qui, cum pacta improbent, tamen retinent, quæ, sine pactis non haberent.* "They cannot avoid the Imputation of Injustice, who disapprove of Treaties, and yet keep Possession of what they could

not have been possessed of, but by the Means of those Treaties."

We have an indisputable Right to *Manila*, and all its Dependencies, if the Ransom Bills are not faithfully paid.

I do therefore, my Lord, in the Names of all concerned (the Navy, Army, and *East India* Company) implore the Assistance and Protection of the Government, and its effectual good Offices, to maintain our most just Rights, and recover the Part of the Ransom as yet unpaid.

[Here follow the "Proposals" and "Conditions," *q.v., ante*, pp. 75-80.]

LETTER FROM CARRION TO RUEDA

Jesus

Pax Christi, etc.

After our misfortunes which happened at the capture of Manila by the English, we are breathing a bit. Hardships have not been lacking here since then, but they have been accompanied by relief.

Last year it was God's will to bring us safely the ship "Santa Rosa" with peace signed and a new governor *ad interim* for these islands.[203] As no other boat was left, the said "Santa Rosa" was fitted up and now it has returned to us, bringing us the regularly-appointed governor Don Francisco Raon. This is the beginning of the recuperation of these islands.

For the rest, one could have feared the total ruin of these domains, according to the unbridled manner in which the Moros were killing and capturing through the Bisayas. The governor *ad interim* has placed Manila in a state of the best defense against European powers, and has opened about it a very wide ditch and made some very high intrenchments. If eight thousand Europeans were necessary to capture it before now fourteen or sixteen thousand will be necessary.

[203] Francisco Javier de la Torre.

There is no doubt but that the present governor will perfect these works, and that he will more eagerly check the boldness of the Morillos.[204] That being done, the trade of Bisayas will again flourish, which is almost necessary for the conservation of this capital.

God has placed a very heavy hand upon our friends the English in their retirement. It is enough to say that seven of their fourteen ships have been lost, and one-half the men whom they brought here, who numbered in all about eight thousand. Of a truth their hopes saw a sorry fulfilment. *Cruel Micenas, fugitibo Eneas, etc.*

Concerning the unhappy condition of the missions of the empire of China, your Reverence will already have had accurate information through the Portuguese fathers who were ordered to be taken to Europa by their not king – "I am not king," as he said at the time of the earthquakes, and as he has caused us to see afterward in our misfortunes.[205] What has become of Father Master Manuel Guevara, who was confused with the Portuguese? Has he died or has he been restored to our province of Toledo? If he is living, a thousand greetings [to him].

We have had the latest news from two Portuguese fathers (who had come here previously from the provinces, and who on that account did not fall into

[204] The diminutive of Moros.

[205] Evidently a reference to Sebastian Joseph Carvalho e Mello, Marquis Pombal, the Portuguese prime minister, who expelled the Jesuits from Portugal by the decree of September 1, 1759; and to the famous Lisbon earthquake of November 1, 1755. See Nicolini's *History of Jesuits* (London, 1879); Cretineau-Joly's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1859), v; and Griesinger's *Jesuits* (London, 1903, 3d ed.).

the clutches of the sparrow-hawk), which is reduced to saying that about thirty fathers are left in that empire – about ten or eleven in the court of Pequin, and the others scattered through its vast provinces. Those of the court are living openly with the license of the emperor and the rest are keeping hid. But all lack the aid which formerly was sent to them from Goa. May God aid them and give them strength to leave the shore after so fierce a storm, *and withdraw us all from the other storm which is lashing all the vast body of the Society.*[206] San Pedro Macati, July 8, 1765.

Your Reverence's humble servant,

EUGENIO CARRION (rubric)

I beg your Reverence to communicate this letter to the reverend father Orea, as one of those small morsels which was supplied to him when he was our beadle in the school of Murcia.

[*Addressed*: "My Father Joseph de Rueda."]

[206] The storm against the Jesuits, which ended with the expulsion of the order in 1770.

LETTER FROM PAZUENGOS TO MESQUIDA

Jesus

Pax Christi.

I am writing this letter, in doubt as to the arrival of your Reverence, and with hopes of the arrival here of the ship "Santa Rosa" and with desires of the coming of a governor to free us from the abominations in which we are. Don Francisco Xavier [de la] Torre is the most detestable robber ever seen in the East or West Indias, a man without shame or trace of Christianity. All this might be tolerated if he took any care of the defense of the Indians; but he has wholly abandoned the fields of Christendom, saying that a cornucopia of the islands is given to him, and that the king our sovereign will abandon them, or transfer them to the French. Thereupon, he has given himself over to a libertine life, so far as his morals are concerned. He looks after nothing else than selling the offices dear, and robbing king and vassals. He obtains it all with abun[dant][207] stipends, but does not pay them, but feigns very well that he issues vouchers for them. But [what?] will

[207] The original of this document is worn in many places. Matter in brackets is conjectural readings; otherwise the lacunas are indicated by periods.

your Reverence say on learning that he has bondsmen who give him opinions, . . . testimonies contrary to all justice and truth? We have a bishop . . . ; and for that reason I have already sent four [students] so that they may be ordained [at] Zebu. I am sure that it will be necessary to send all the others, who have finished and who are studying. He has hoisted the flag against the religious orders with all his might, and I am sure that all the orders will write this year, resigning their ministries into the hands of his Majesty.[208] The Society and the Dominicans are determined to do it, for the auditors and some of the city have resolved to censure and dishonor them. The Frenchman Solano, formerly a barber and wig-maker is alcalde-in-ordinary of Manila, and today a regidor of this city. Who would believe that such a . . . thing could be? This vile man, incited by the governor, by the auditor, . . . and by the fiscal of his Majesty, had the insolence to get out on the highway of Meyha with two thousand workmen and widen it by more than two varas. Although he knew that it was ecclesiastical property, he answered that the last thing that leaves the body is the soul. What can such governors, [such] auditors, and such alcaldes occasion, if not the ruin of the community?

Not less ruined are the Bisayas, as they are without stipends, and cannot be helped from here, since they have no boats which can resist the Moros, for the governor has not made a grain of powder nor a

[208] This trouble with the Jesuits arose first from the sermon preached by Father Francisco Javier Puch, S.J., March 9, 1764, in which he accused the alcaldes-mayor of robbing both king and natives (Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 116, 117; and Ferrando, v, pp. 9-16).

single boat, although it is a fact that he has cost the king almost a million pesos. The fathers are compelled to go almost naked, and they have had to make shoes out of the parchment of their books. They have been assisted as much as possible, and already those missions owe thirty thousand pesos to the province. Of the ten churches built of stone and mortar, and a like number of houses in the residence of Hilongos, only two are left, and all the rest are ruined and burned by the Moros. Your Reverence may conjecture almost the same thing of other less defensible villages. All [the inhabitants of] the two villages which were formed under the charge of Samboangan are dead or captives, and I am sure that the missions of the Recollects have suffered greater ruin, *proportione servata*; for I am told that the entire jurisdiction of Caraga is reduced to one thousand tributes. Since your Reverence left, one-half the Indians of Bisayas have been captured or killed. May God bring us a governor, may God bring us some auditors, who shall recognize and appreciate the defense of the Catholic religion and of the poor Indians!

The estates of Calatagán and Looc, burned and sacked by the Moros; the estates of Meysilo and La Piedad, burned and sacked by the Christians; that of San Pedro Tunasan, sacked by the Indians, commanded by six Franciscan friars; Lian and Nasugbú delivered to the Joloan [? *Jelaco* in transcript] king by treaty; that of Naic abandoned to the robbers; San Pedro Macati burned by the English, with the exception of the house and church! Those which have suffered less are Marquina, Payatas, and Calamba, although they have suffered considerably.

Don Manuel Fernandez Thoribio has been appointed governor of Samboangan, and has secret instructions to ascertain what estates and what manner of livelihood the Jesuits have. In general, all the alcaldes who have been sent out carry instructions against the regulars. The fact is that stipends are not to be paid to the ministers, and no alms or aid is to be given to carry on the missions.

Since my arrival, neither from the royal treasury of Mexico, nor from these [in Manila], has the least stipend [been given] to the four subjects in Samboangan. . . . treasury, by royal decree, that they be paid here, and from those of here, for . . . in order to pay from the treasury of Mexico. Consider, your Reverence, what must be the condition of this po[or] province.

There is another war declared, in which Señor Galban has unfurled the banner against [the] pious [funds]. He declares that the pious funds are the ruin of [trade] and of the islands; as if the trade of the islands had any other foundation. I, . . . procurator, have come to the opinion that God is abandoning this His kingdom; . . . I doubt that on other occasions, there may have been greater or equal mi[sfortunes], but surely, the ministers of the king, our sovereign, must have had more application and better intentions. It might be that Señor Cegado has them, since he is . . . it. They pass no measure that is not intended for the ruin, and tell . . . the liberty in which they live, would be to paint a detesta[ble] and scandalous community.

Against us in particular, is aroused a very perplexing storm, . . . the case, that in the college of Manila, a [mis]sion was held during Lent. On the

next to the last day, Father Puch explained the seventh command[ment] and named the kinds of robbers that existed. He named alcaldes-[mayor?] of provinces, adding what St. Xavier said of these at seeing . . . that they received the decree *deleantur de libro viventium.*[209] On the . . . day, while I was resting, I received a bloodthirsty denunciation from Señor Galban, which I [sho]wed to Father Puch, who explained on Sunday afternoon in great detail what I have mentioned, and what he ought to say. But on the third day, I received a royal provision passed by an extraordinary meeting of the assembly, in [which] they told [me] to censure Father Puch who was to be ordered to give sat[isfaction] to the royal assembly, and to the public for the excesses committed upon the alcaldes-mayor. The last two days of the mission, I formed their . . assessorship at the university of Santo Thomas, and at four of the . . . all acquitted, and I with them, Father Puch. Thereupon, I presented myself before the royal assembly on the twenty-seventh [of] March, and they have been silent until now. They gave the matter for review to the fiscal, who presented himself in person on the seventeenth of May with a fiscal review, in which he censures and reproves my conduct, and reproves and censures that of Father Puch. He censures all the religious orders, for, he says, we are all united in incriminating the alcaldes-mayor; that there is no obedience to the king in the islands; that the religious are the masters of the islands, despotic, tyrannical, cruel. He requests the royal assembly to reproduce before the king our sovereign, the memorial of Palafox against

[209] *i.e.*, Let them be erased from the book of life.

the religious, and that secular priests be assigned to the ministries; and that although the provision taken in the royal assembly ought to be urged on me, and although another ought to be despatched against the Dominicans, already the conspiracy of all the religious is known, and that the royal assembly will obtain nothing more than disrespect, disobedience, and insults, and that it will be best to inform the king, our sovereign, of everything, passing by my petition of testimony made in triplicate in order that I might have recourse to his Majesty. I have seen nothing, and have been informed of nothing. Thereupon, I sought my remedy, and have recourse with three testimonies to the king, our sovereign. I greatly fear, however, that the matter will be neglected in Madrid, and the connivance of our procurators; but for this I also ask the remedy farther on.

A boat was built in Pangasinan in order that it might be sent to Nueva España. It was launched in the middle of May in a river, but it could not get out because of the bar. Means are being discussed, hopes abound, but it is now considered impossible for a voyage to be made this year. The "Santa Rosa" was expected at the end of May, but we are sure that there will be no voyage unless one of the ships from the mainland is bought. If the "Santa Rosa" brings no money, we must all go to live in Visayas and Tagalos. To this point have I come, today, June 17. If there is anything to add later, I will add it in a separate paragraph, or in another letter.

The "Santa Rosa" arrived July 3, with the new governor. The "Santa Rosa" is being prepared for its return trip to México, for the ship of Azevedo has not arrived, and is not expected, although it left the

bar on the third of this said month. The boat of Misamis is being equipped for México. I do not consider it necessary to give instructions to your Reverence, for I expect that without them, you will perform the duties of your post fully, and our friendship. Santa Cruz, July 20, 1765.

Your Reverence's most affectionate servant,

BERNARDO PAZUENGOS (rubric)

[*Addressed*: "My Father Procurator-General, Joaquin Mesquida."]

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[210] One of these MSS., entitled *Breve noticia de los Religiosos Agustinos Calzados de esta provincia de Filipinas . . . .*, and which belongs to Bernardino Hernando, O.S.A., reader in the Valladolid convent, has the following data in regard to the contributions made to the English: "From the royal coffers, 12,469 pesos; from the governor, 6,991; from the cathedral, 9,000 pesos in coined silver, and 33,973 in wrought silver; the church of Quiapo, 716 pesos in wrought silver; that of Ermita, 5,117, ditto; from [the Order] of St. Dominic and tertiary branch, 16,028 in coined silver, and 11,616 in wrought; from the tertiary branch of [the Order of] St. Francis, 58,000 pesos in coined silver, and 970 in wrought; from [the Order of] St. Augustine, 25,556 pesos in coined silver, and 11,025 pesos in wrought silver; from the Society, 40,434 pesos in coined silver, and 8,794 in wrought silver; from the Misericordia, 196,042 pesos, 2 reals, and 4 granos in coined silver; from the minor Ruiz, 1,472 pesos in wrought silver, and 836 of the deposit belonging to Varela: all of which items make a total of 459,420 pesos. The wealthy citizens and families, to wit: Infante, Reyes, Jugo, Villar, Suárez, Ocampo, Memije, Varela, Bogan, Piñón, Monteroso, Mazo, Neyra, Lizárraga, Ruano, Noriega, Castro, Solano, Otal, Casañas, Cachit, Mantilla, Barrio, León y Verdugo – 48,777 pesos. The sack amounted to 418,442 pesos. The English seized 25,000 pesos from [the property of] the absent Blanco; from the marqués de Monte Castro, 8,000 pesos; from the marquesa de Salinas, 10,000 pesos; in the seizure of San Pablo, the convent of the Calced Augustinian fathers, 60,000 pesos, which were buried, in coined silver, and 40,000 in wrought silver. To all these items must be added 2,000,000 pesos which were charged against his Catholic Majesty's treasury. The total sum is 3,069,639 pesos."

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